



*A. H. M. L.*

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART XVIII

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

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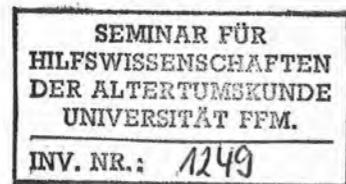
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## P R E F A C E

SOME apology is due for the delay in the issue of this Part, which it had been hoped might appear by the beginning of the present year. Various causes, chief among them the general dislocation caused by the outbreak of the war, hindered both the setting up of the copy and the reading of the proofs. It is hoped that members of the Graeco-Roman Branch and the general public will forgive a tardiness due in the main to causes quite outside the Society's control.

Like the majority of the previous Parts, though unlike others, such as Parts XV and XVI, the present instalment is of composite character. Of theological fragments there are only two, but literary fragments are both numerous and important and include known texts as well as lost works. The documents are drawn from the Roman and Byzantine periods alike. Among the former are some remarkable letters, among the latter further gleanings from the papers of the Apion family.

The new literary works (except 2177, the *Acta Alexandrinorum*), as also the fragments of two known plays of Aeschylus, have been edited by Mr. Lobel, of whose skill and learning readers will find ample proof in the pages which follow. For the remainder of the volume the final responsibility was entrusted to Mr. Roberts, who selected the texts to be published, and himself transcribed and annotated many of them. The official and legal deeds of the Roman period, however (2182-2189, 2198, 2199), were prepared for publication by Miss Wegener and merely revised by Mr. Roberts. Owing to the latter's absence on government work the first reading of the proofs of all but the theological fragments and the fragments of new literary works was undertaken by myself, though Mr. Roberts has found time in his leisure hours to read them also and to settle various queries which required reference to the originals. The indices (except those of Subjects and Passages Discussed, which are my own work) were prepared by Miss Barbara Flower.

Readers will probably notice in the portion for which Mr. Lobel is responsible some divergences from the practice hitherto followed.

In elucidation of certain of these and of other matters Mr. Lobel writes as follows:

'In the editing of the "New classical texts" some departures from the practice of previous volumes will be remarked. Introduction and commentary are reduced in scale. No continuous translation is offered. On the other hand, the apparatus criticus has been elaborated with the intention of affording the maximum of guidance in the determination of doubtful letters and (with unimportant exceptions in 2165 and 2167, and excluding 2166, where it was impracticable) every fragment published has been reproduced on one of the twelve plates devoted to the literary papyri (i-xii), for the sanctioning of which readers and editor have equal cause for particular gratitude to the Society. These innovations are partly to be accounted for by the limits of this editor's competence, partly by considerations of what in principle a first edition of a papyrus text should aim at supplying. Another, which it is hoped to continue in subsequent volumes, is the grouping together of many pieces of the same author. This may make a less generally interesting book than one which contains one or two pieces each of a greater number of authors, but it is hard to suppose that it will not increase its usefulness for study. 2165 and 2166 should on this principle have been reserved for vol. xix (which is designed to contain among other things much more Alcaeus and Sappho), but for reasons which need not be given it was necessary in this instance to depart from it. A pointed reminder of the provisional nature of the editor's work is furnished by the *Addenda* (p. 182), which contains a number of improvements discovered too late to incorporate in their proper places.'

'Four learned men, Professors Murray, Fraenkel, Pfeiffer and Dodds, read in proof some or all of pp. 4-96 and must here be offered my best thanks for this friendly office. But for their criticisms the faults which remain would be still more numerous.'

From Mr. Lobel and the other editors alike, who are well aware of the exacting nature of the work required, no merely formal thanks are due to the Printer and his staff, who have met all calls with their accustomed patience and skill. Finally special acknowledgements are due to Mrs. Hunt, whose generosity has greatly contributed to making possible the preparation and publication of this Part, and to the British Academy and the Jowett Copyright Trustees for grants towards the expenses of publication.

This is the first Part of the series from the title-page of which the name of Prof. Hunt is lacking. It has therefore seemed appropriate to treat it as, in some sort, a memorial Volume to him and to prefix a portrait, for the loan of which the Committee is indebted to Mrs. Hunt.

H. I. BELL

GENERAL EDITOR OF THE  
GRAECO-ROMAN MEMOIRS

BRITISH MUSEUM  
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND  
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE method followed in this volume resembles in the main that of its predecessors, but there are some differences in the case of the literary texts. Here, throughout, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts sigma is printed in the form *c*. Furthermore, by special wish of Mr. Lobel, the name Oxyrhynchus is in the commentary to these texts spelled without the first *h*, though the usual spelling is retained elsewhere. The new classical fragments are given, as regards the main pieces, in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style, and the same procedure is followed in the case of 2178, 2179, fragments of extant works. On the other hand 2177 is printed in modern style except for the retention of the original method of punctuation. In all other literary texts the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, and supplements of lacunae. In the new literary works, a correction in the text, *in a hand which appears to be different from the original scribe's*, is indicated by thick type; if the same hand occurs in a marginal or interlinear note, thick type is used there also. Apart from such cases marginal or interlinear entries are printed in small type, thin to indicate the first hand employed in such additions, thick for a second hand. In one case, 2166 (c), where a word occurs which appears to be due to a third hand, it is marked by the use of small capitals. It is hardly necessary to remark that distinctions of this kind are frequently uncertain, as the same scribe may employ hands of different types for the main text and for corrections or scholia.

Non-literary texts are printed in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols (with occasional exceptions, like *L* = *ετος*) are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript has been printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion. Dots placed within brackets represent approximately the number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are doubtful. In the new literary texts a difference may sometimes be seen between the literal transcript (1) and the reconstruction (2). The principle followed may be thus illustrated: (1) ]α,β[ (2) ]αρβ[ means that ρ cannot be read but is compatible with the traces and not excluded by the context; (1) ]αρβ[ (2) ]αρβ[ means that the traces suggest ρ, but the context is indecisive; (1) ]αρβ[ (2) ]αρβ[ means

that though  $\rho$  is not certain as a reading the context makes it reasonably certain that it is correctly read.

Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in citing papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. They are, with a few others, as follows:

*Acta Apiani* = P. Oxy. i. 33 (*Chrest.* i. 20).

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B.G.U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, griech. Urkunden.

*Chrest.* i, *Chrest.* ii = L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 1. Band, *Historischer Teil*, 2. Band, *Juristischer Teil*; 2. Hälfte, *Chrestomathie*.

*Dikaiomata* = Graeca Halensis, *Dikaiomata* (Pap. Hal. 1).

*J.E.A.* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

*Mélanges Maspero* = *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, lxvii, *Mélanges Maspero*.

P. Bad. = Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen. By W. Spiegelberg (Heft 1), Fr. Bilabel and A. Grohmann.

P. Cair. Zen. = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri, Vols. I-IV, by C. C. Edgar.

P. Διηγήσεις or P. Med. διηγ. = *Διηγήσεις* di Poemi di Callimaco, by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, reprinted as no. 1 in Papiri della R. Università di Milano, I, by A. Vogliano.

P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vols. I and III by G. Vitelli; Vol. II by D. Comparetti.

P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.

P. Iand. = Papyri Iandanae, by E. Schäfer and others.

P. Lond. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

P. Med. διηγ.; see P. Διηγήσεις.

P. Mert. = Greek Papyri in the collection of Wilfred Merton (forthcoming), Vol. I, by H. I. Bell and C. H. Roberts.

P.O. or P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (usually referred to by numbers only, in heavy type).

P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt; Vol. II, by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt; Vol. III, by C. H. Roberts.

P.S.I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, by G. Vitelli and others.

P. Strassb. = Griech. Papyrus der Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg, Vols. I and II, by F. Preisigke.

P. Stud. Pal.; see Stud.

Preisigke WB. = *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, by F. Preisigke.

RE. = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*: Neue Bearbeitung.

SB. or S.B. = Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, by F. Preisigke.

Stud. or P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely. Wilcken, *Grundz.*; see *Chrest.* i, *Chrest.* ii.

## THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

### 2157. GALATIANS i.

8·2 × 13·9 cm.

Fourth century.

Fragment of a leaf incomplete on all sides, containing part of Galatians i. The hand is a square, sloping uncial and bears some resemblance to that of the Chester Beatty Ecclesiasticus. Some four lines (not allowing for the title) are missing from the beginning of the verso; a complete page would have contained about 38 lines. The usual contractions of *nomina sacra* are found.

The text is eclectic in character; its closest affinities seem to be with B, but an agreement with DFG against NAB<sup>46</sup> in v. 19 is worth noticing. None of the three peculiar readings of the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline Epistles (<sup>3</sup>P<sup>46</sup>) find support here, nor does it ever agree with <sup>3</sup>P<sup>46</sup> except when the latter is supporting B.

Verso.

[συν ε]μο[ι] παντε[s αδελφοι ταις]	i. 2
[ἐκκλη]σιας της [Γαλατιας χα]	3
[ρις ν]μιν και ειρ[.] [νη απο θν πρς]	
[και κ]υημων Ιν X[ρυ του δοντος ε]	4
5 [αυτο]ν υπερ των [αμαρτιων]	
[ημω]ν οπως εξ[εληται ημας]	
[εκ του] αιωνος το[u ενεστωτος]	
[πονη]ρου κατ[a το θελημα]	
[του θν] και πρς ημω[n ω η]	5
10 [δοξα] εις τους [α]ιω[νας των αι]	
[ωνων] αμην )→	
[Θαυμαζ]ω οτι ουτως τ[αχεως με]	6
[τατιθ]εσθε απο του κα[λεσαντος]	
[ημας ε]ν χαριτι Χρυ ε[ις ετερον ε]	
15 ν[αγγ]ελιον ο ουκ εστι[n αλλο ει]	7
μ[η τ]ινεις εισιψ οι τ[αρασσοντες ν]	
μ[ας] και θελοντες μ[εταστρε]	
ψ[αι τ]ο εναγγελιον τ[ου Χρυ αλλα <και>]	8
[ει η]μεις η αγγελ[ος εξ ουνου]	
20 [ημι]ν εναγγελιζ[ται παρ ο ενη]	

B

[γγελ]ισαμέθα υμ[ι]ν αναθεμα]  
 [εστω] ως προειρηκ[αμεν και αρ]  
 [τι παλ]ιν λεγω ει τ[ις υμας εναγ]  
 [γελιζ]εται παρ ο ελ[αβετε ανα]  
 25 [θεμα] εστω αρτι γ[αρ ανθρω]

9  
10

7 The *i* of αιωνος is corrected from *a*  
 15 ουκ: *o* corr. from *θ*

Recto.

26 [κον την εκιλησ]ιαγ [τ]ογ [θ]υ κ[αι]  
 9 ll. lost  
 [του αποκαλ]υψ[α]: τ[ο]ν ν[ιον αν]  
 [του εν εμοι ι]να εναγγελ[ιζω]  
 [μαι αυτον εν] τοις εθνεσ[ιν εν]  
 [θε]ως ου προσανεθεμην [σαρκι]  
 40 [κα]ι αιματι ουδε απηλθον εις  
 [Ιεροσυλιμ]α προς τους προ ε  
 [μου αποστολ]ους αλλα απηλθο  
 [εις Αραβιαν] και παλιν υπεστρ[ε]  
 [ψα εις Δαμασ]κον επιτα μετα  
 45 [ετη τρια αν]ηλ[θ]ον εις τορ[ο]  
 [σολυμα ιστο]ρησαι Κηφαν [και]  
 [επεμεινα] προς αυτον ημ[ε]  
 [ρας ιε ετεροι δε] των αποστολω  
 [ον]κ ειδον [ο]υδεγ[.].[.]α ει μη Γακ[ω]  
 50 [βον τον] αδελφον του κυ [α δε]

i. 13  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20

3-4 πατρος και κυριου ημων: so BDFG P<sup>46</sup>; πατρος ημων και κυριου ΝΑ.  
 5 υπερ: so ΝΕΒ; περι ΝADFG P<sup>46</sup>.

7 αιωνος το[ι]ν ενεστωτος: so ΝAB P<sup>46</sup>; ενεστωτος αιωνος DFG.

9 This line of only 17 letters is shorter than the average; a short space may have been left after the ημων, as in P<sup>46</sup>.  
 12 ουτως: ουτω H.

14 χαριτι Χριστου: so ΝAB; om. Χριστου FG P<sup>46</sup>; Ιησου Χριστου D. The break ε|ναγγελιον is abnormal, but it is certain that the ε did not stand at the beginning of l. 15.

19-20 ει . . . εναγγελιζεται: εναγγελιζεται is quoted only from K and P (both ninth-century MSS.) and a few minuscules instead of the εναγγελιον of ΝΑ or the εναγγελιζηται of BDFG; both K and P retain εαν and possibly it and not ει should be supplied here. The scribe may have written και (or κει) as almost certainly there was no room for και in l. 18.

23 The high points here and in l. 25 indicate the beginning and end of the *oratio recta*.

24 ελ[αβετε (by haplography from παρ ο): παρελαβετε cett.

40 απηλθον: so BDFG; ανηλθον ΝΑ; ηλθον P<sup>46</sup>.

42 απηλθον: so ΝABDFG; απηλθα P<sup>46</sup>.

44 l. επειτα.

46 Κηφαν: so ΝAB P<sup>46</sup>; Πετρον Ν<sup>c</sup>DFG.

47 Considerations of space make it certain that the unique εμεινα of P<sup>46</sup> cannot have stood here.

48 ιε: δεκαπεντε cett.

49 ουδενα: so DFG; om. ΝAB P<sup>46</sup>.

### 2158. PHILO.

Fr. 1. 4·8 × 4·5 cm.

Third century.

The two small fragments printed below belong to the same codex of Philo as 1173, 1356, and P.S.I. xi. 1207. 1173 and the P.S.I. text together with parts of 1356 (identified by W. G. Waddell in *Études de Papyrologie*, i, pp. 1 seqq.) belong to already known treatises; the present fragments (to judge from the references to ιεροσυλια in the index to Cohn and Wendland's edition), together with some portions of 1356, do not form part of Philo's extant work. They do not appear to connect directly with any of the fragments of 1356; l. 6 of 2158 suggests a connexion with Fol. 11 fr. 1 recto of 1356 (both are in the same sloping, semi-cursive hand, which is one of the three hands found in this codex), but not much stress can be laid on this.

Fr. 1 recto.

]ταξιν ταις ητ.[  
 ]βασιλειαι και σ[  
 ]καταριθ[μ]  
 ]το βλ. α..ς υπερβο[λ]  
 5 ].[.....].[  
 ]ε και ιεροσυλιας και[  
 ].πραξεσιν παρακα[  
 ]ν πρω..ο.[

Fr. 1 verso.

]ναι εν ανλυκορ[  
 ]ωματων ισ.[  
 ].ω το βλαπτον α[  
 ]ψε.ως ο κρατιο[τος  
 ? γυν]αι[[κ]]ι αν[.].[.]αις ε[  
 ]κες οσα δ[ε] ευξεσθ[αι  
 15 ε]γξαμενων αγαθ[  
 σ]χεδον τον τ[  
 ]ψα[.].τε[

Fr. 2 recto.

].απην.[  
 ]υς και σα[  
 20 ].νμε[

Fr. 2 verso.

].[  
 ]νται κα[  
 ].την ψ[  
 ]ων αδ[

## NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

### 2159. AESCHYLUS, *Γλαῦκος πόντιος*

The same copyist who wrote P.S.I. 1208-10 and 2160-4, 2178-9 was also responsible for the fragment of Aeschylus' *Γλαῦκος πόντιος* which follows here. It would appear to be a natural interpretation to take it as part of a speech by Glaucus referring to himself (ll. 8-9) and recounting the 'marvel' of the *ἀείζωος πόσα*, but it would be an idle exercise to try to guess more about these incomplete lines or the version of the story dramatized by Aeschylus.

] <i>αυταμωρο[</i>	] <i>αντα μωρο[</i>
] <i>τινηθυελ[</i>	] <i>τν η θύελ[λα</i>
] <i>υπαυρους[</i>	] <i>η παιρους[</i>
] <i>νμενισθιε[</i>	] <i>ν μὲν ἵθι ε[</i>
5 ] <i>.νδετεστι.].[ε.σομμι[</i>	] <i>.νδετ' ἐστι.].[ε.ε δμμ[α</i>
] <i>μβνωσωνουδεμαψαγ[</i>	] <i>μβλνώccων οὐδὲ μαψαγ[</i>
] <i>εαδειμακαιπεριπερ.[</i>	] <i>εα δεῖμα και περιπερ.[</i>
]. <i>σαγραυλοστεμικαπιχ[</i>	]. <i>ε ἄγραυλός τ' είμι κάπιχ[ωρι</i>
] <i>αμιζωντηδεχαλκιδ.[</i>	] <i>θ]αμιζων τῆιδε Χαλκιδ.[</i>
10 ] <i>απιουταφυλλονυψηλο[</i>	] <i>Μεcc]απίου τ' ἀφυλλον ύψηλο[</i>
] <i>ναπι...βο.αιφορ[</i>	] <i>ναπι...βο.ει φορ[</i>
] <i>ενκατειδονθανμαπ[</i>	] <i>εν κατεῖδον θανμαπ[</i>
] <i>ιδα.αμπηγναμφικην[</i>	] <i>Εύβο]ιδα καμπήν ἀμφί Κηνα[ίου Διός</i>
] <i>νκαταντηγνμβοναθ[</i>	] <i>ἀκτή]ν κατ' αὐτήν, τύμβον ἀθ[λίου Λίχα</i>
15 ] <i>ντ' απερτεθριππο[</i>	] <i>ντ' απερ τέθριππο[</i>

3 The top of *ρ* has been rubbed away  
 5 Right-hand curve of *ο* or *ω*. After *εστι* either *π* or  
*τ* which must presumably have been followed by *[ι]*, though the space seems scarcely adequate. After  
*ειφορ* a small space followed by what looks like the lower half of *η* from the cross stroke downwards;  
 since this does not scan, I suggest *τι* against the appearances. *π[ι]ειφορ* perh. just possible  
 unsatisfactory, the tail does not descend below the line. The following letter not verifiable  
 right-hand curve of *ο* or *ω*      11 *τ* dubious, only two spots of ink one above the other. It is followed  
 by a horizontal line, probably the top of *π* or a similar letter. Of *β* only the right hand of the lower  
 loop *ουφ* possible, but only a trace of the right-hand arm of *γ* remains      13 seq. Aesch. fr. 30 N<sup>2</sup>

10 The supplement is due to Professor Fraenkel, who completes the line *ύψηλό[ν λέπας* and compares Soph. fr. 299 P. *ἀφύλλωτον πέτραν*. On the connexion of the *Μεccάπιον ὅρος* with Glaucus see Strabo ix. 405, Pausan. ix. 22, 5 seq.

### 2160. AESCHYLUS, *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς*.

The writing of the following fragments, though not precisely the same as that of 2159, 2161-4, 2178-9, and P.S.I. 1208, undoubtedly proceeds from the same hand. It is precisely the same as that of P.S.I. 1210, as I have satisfied myself by means of a photograph kindly supplied by Signorina Norsa, and the *prima facie* probability that we therefore have here more of the *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς* is confirmed by the contents. *Γλαῦκον* is found at fr. 2 ii 10, and a number of expressions, e.g. *ἔλκε[*, fr. 2 ii 4 (cf. fr. 39 N<sup>2</sup>), *όδάξ*, fr. 3, 3 (and perhaps fr. 2 ii 2), *καμπας[*, fr. 2 ii 11, *λάγων[*, fr. 2 ii 15, and *]άγωνος*, fr. 3, 8, *χαλινο[*, fr. 3, 4, *].ηλάτην[*, fr. 4, 3, well suit the circumstances in which Glaucus, according to one version of his story, lost his life. But the identification does not, so far as I see, enable us to guess more of the course of the action of Aeschylus' play than had been guessed already, except that it now seems possible that the fate of Glaucus was prefigured in a dream or vision, of which the narration by the female character to whom it occurred occupies fragments 1 and 2.

#### Fr. 1.

] <i>εδοξεγαρ[</i>
] <i>εχων.τε.[</i>
] <i>ι...υσκυ[</i>
] <i>κ[...].τ.[</i>
5 ] <i>γγυικα[</i>
] <i>το[.]ανδιπ[</i>
] <i>οι[</i>

#### Col. i.

] <i>ν</i>
] <i>τ</i>
] <i>ν</i>
] <i>τ</i>
5 ] <i>ν</i>
] <i>τ</i>
] <i>ν</i>
] <i>τ</i>
] <i>ν</i>

#### Fr. 2.

] <i>[</i>
] <i>οδ[.]ξ[</i>
] <i>τελο[</i>
] <i>ελκε[</i>
5 <i>..οιθ[</i>
] <i>καγωπ[</i>
<i>X</i> <i>καιτιμαγ[</i>
] <i>παιεικατ[</i>
] <i>γυναιτιτη[</i>
10 <i>γλαυκον[</i>

10	] <phi>ασματα</phi>	καμπαις[ <sup>η</sup>
	] <kataonouν< td=""><td>καιλοιсθи[</td></kataonouν<>	καιλοιсθи[
	].	νικησарес[
	] <pi>ομενοι</pi>	. [. ]δανδροс[
	] <mu>εθημει[</mu>	15      ]ν. [. ]агωн[
	.	]. [

Fr. 3.

]. γονοντα..[  
]. τιγαρτολοι..[  
], νοδαξδα..[  
], σχαλεινο..[  
] ει· φερειδε[  
αρ. οπληξας..[  
] μητεπρο[.]. διδορκ[  
] αγωνοσδ. λον[.]. ιθ[  
] ακεισθα[.] κ. ροσειπο[  
]. φρονωσεκρεινετ[  
]. η. ωθυ[.]. ριςυνπ[.]. ο[  
] ιστατηρ[..]. ιςιωω[.]. νο[  
] φ[.]. υμ[

Fr. 5.

]υκλειαστ[  
]. ειβιωι  
]ξενοις  
]σειεται[

Fr. 4.

].ισεβη  
]αθοιςλα[  
].ηλατην[  
]ειν[

Fr. 6.

oπ[  
θε[  
οι[  
τ

10	]φασματα ]κατανουν ]. ]πομενοι ]μεθημει[ .	καμπαις <sup>η</sup> καιλοисθи[ νικησαρес[ . [. δαндрос[ 15 ]γ. [. γагѡн[ ]. [
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	Fr. 3.		Fr. 4.
	] <i>νονοντα</i> ..[		
	]. <i>τιγαρτολοι</i> .[		]. <i>ιςεβη</i>
	]. <i>νοδαξδα</i> .[		] <i>αθοιελα</i> [
	]. <i>σχαλεινο</i> .[		]. <i>ηλατην</i> [
5	] <i>ει· φερειδε</i> [		] <i>ειν</i> [
	]. <i>αρ· οπληξας</i> .[		
	] <i>μηγεπρο</i> [.] <i>δεδορκ</i> .[		
	] <i>αγωνοσδ· λον</i> [.] <i>εθ</i> [		
	] <i>ακειεθα</i> [.] <i>κ· ροσειπο</i> [		
10	]. <i>φρονωσεκρεινετ</i> [		
	]. <i>η· ωθυτ</i> [.] <i>ριισυπ</i> [.] <i>ο</i> [		
	] <i>οστατηρ</i> [..] <i>ιιιιω</i> [.] <i>νο</i> [		
	] <i>φ</i> [..]. <i>νη</i> [		
	] <i>ον· ν</i> [		
	] <i>ν</i> [		
15	].[		

Fr. 5.

Fr. 5.

2160. AESCHYLUS, ГЛАУКОС ПОТНИЕЦ

Fr. 7.

αλλούτιςε[...]ρσοισικω[  
αλλενθαλα[...]σηδεινοσα[  
οιοντοχρηματουτε[...]οι  
οπωσορειο. των. θα[  
ποθενγαρ[  
φυσαιγαρεικ[  
καμονγεψαν[  
..]δρουςγιχν[  
..]ουρε[...]ο[

Fr. 8.

].ιν[  
].ει[  
]ειδεσθλονω[  
]ελειονα[  
5 ]..μητανα[  
]ξυνμαρτν[  
]εστινγαρημ[  
]αλλ[...]καιλ[  
].δε[  
10 ] [  
.][.] [  
ν.[  
πλε[  
ουρα[

5

*ναιειςεγ[.].. πιθανασδ.[ ζηνοσαγγελε*

**Fr. 1** 2 After  $\nu$  the top left-hand arc of a circular letter, after  $\tau\epsilon$  the middle part of the left-hand arc of a circular letter: e.g.  $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi$ [  
3 Level with the top of  $\iota$  a short stroke ascending left to right, next at an interval the foot of an upright, then the bottom arc of a circular letter:  $\iota\pi\pi\eta\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\pi\pi\eta\omega\varsigma$  probable  
4 The visible ink is what has soaked through the top layer which is lost  
**6** See on fr. 2 ii 1

**Fr. 2** Col. ii This continues fr. 1 downwards and it is possible that ll. 1-2 should be equated with fr. 1 ll. 6-7, thus: *τοι αὐδητοῖς οἱς λέγεται*

1 A horizontal stroke on the line, perhaps δ 14 . [the top arc of a circular letter, ε or c more probable than o 16 The top of a circular letter, o or c rather than ε, followed by the left-hand upper branch of ν or u

**Fr. 3** 3  $\nu$  is preceded by a part of a circle, which looks like the right side of  $\circ$  or  $\omega$ , but the remaining traces do not suit. Of  $\delta$  only the base line  $a$  might be  $\omega$ ; it is followed by the top part of a stroke turning over to the right 4 [, a spot of ink below the line 6 ], a cross-bar level with the top of  $a$ ,  $\gamma$  or perhaps  $\tau$ . Of  $\lambda$  only a trace of the tail 7 [, the bottom of a circle 8. The ink after  $\delta$  is perhaps reconcilable with the top part of the first upright and part of the cross-bar of  $\eta$ . Or 9 No traces between  $a$  and  $\kappa$  but the surface may have gone; the space suggests  $a\kappa$ . At an interval after  $\kappa$  the thickened top of an upright, perhaps  $\kappa[a]$ , or  $\kappa\eta$ . Of  $\epsilon$  only the flattened top, of  $\iota$  only the tip of the foot 11. On either side of  $\eta$  traces of ink above the level of the letters;  $\eta$  itself might be the cross-bar of  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  followed by  $\iota$  13 [, the bottom right-hand corner of  $\circ$  or  $\omega$  14. Between  $v$  and  $v$  a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$  or  $\chi$  15 [, the left-hand top corner of  $\epsilon$  or  $c$  16. An angle above the line formed by the top of a vertical stroke and a cross-bar going to the right.

**Fr. 4 3 ]**, the upper part of an upright stroke at some distance from

**Fig. 5-31** an upright stroke, or possibly

**Fr. 7** I ε, [the lower end of a stroke rising from the line, sloping slightly left to right ω, [remains of a slightly curved upright stroke, ν or π 4 Between ν and θ no room for more than ε; a spot of ink above the left-hand side of θ might be part of a τρῆμα 9 The last letter was ε or c; it is preceded by the tips of two strokes which may represent μ.

**Fr. 8** 1], traces of what might be the projecting ends of the middle and lower strokes of  $\epsilon$  2], the right-hand side of the cross-bar of  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  [, the lower half of an upright stroke with a slight inclination to the right, to the right of it a trace of ink; perhaps  $\nu$  or  $\kappa$  5].., the lower left-hand part of a circular letter followed by the extreme tip of a tailed letter descending below the line 9], the bottom of a circular letter.

**Frr. 1-2** The mention of *φάσματα* (fr. 2 i 10), taken up by ἔδοξε (fr. 1, 1), suggests that a dream or vision is being recounted. What is preserved is consistent (or can be made so) with a description of how a charioteer is worried by his horses with their teeth, which was the fate of Glaucus at the funeral games of Pelias. Thus we may read *ἴπηρον* (fr. 1, 3), *κύριγγη* (the nave of a wheel, fr. 1, 5), *δόλαζ* (fr. 2 ii 2), *Ἐλκείν* (fr. 2 ii 4), *καμπαῖς* [or *καμπῆς*] (the turning-post, fr. 2 ii 11), *νίκης ἀρές θαυμάδος* (fr. 2 ii 12).

**Fr. 3** οδάξ, χαλινός, φέρει, πλήγει also belong (or may belong) to the sphere of horse-racing and **].ηλάγην** (fr. 4) looks like the end of a word denoting 'charioteer'. ἀγῶνος (and perhaps ἀγων[ in fr. 2 ii 15] will refer to the άθλα ἐπὶ Πελαίᾳ or one of the events at them.

**Fr. 5** It appears to me possible that this fragment should be placed on the right of P.S.I. 1210, fr. 2, but I can suggest no suitable word.

Fr. 8 a copy. Beginning of vi.

**Fr. 8** 3 seqq. Beginnings of lines.

5 Possibly 'Ερμην, cf. 17 Ζηνώς ἔρμην

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Σρμη, cf. 17 Σηνος αγγειος.

2161. AESCHYLUS. Αικτυνηλκοί.

The identification of the source of the two fragments published in P.S.I. 1209 as the *Δικτυούλκοι* of Aeschylus, proposed by the editors and generally accepted, is put beyond doubt by 2161, a third fragment in the same hand containing two extant quotations from that drama. In the larger of the Florentine fragments the chest in which Danae and Perseus are enclosed has been espied and efforts are made to bring it ashore. We must suppose at least one column lost between this and 2161 (shown by the stichometrical letter at col. ii 2 to correspond to lines 765–832 of the complete play), in which they are now on land, and the action proceeds, on the most straightforward though not the only possible reconstruction of it, more or less as follows. A Seriphian in a position of authority—it would be presumed on general grounds Dictys, brother of Polydectes, the king of the island, and this is confirmed by col. ii 1 seq., if the interpretation adopted in the note on those lines is correct—promises Danae protection and honour (i 1–8). Danae replies describing her fears and appealing to Zeus (i 9–21). The chorus, the ‘net-haulers’ of the title, comments on the child’s amusement at their appearance (i 22–34). Dictys expresses his joy at having rescued the castaways and in a lyric consisting mainly of glyconic and pherecratean series comforts the little boy, who has begun to whimper, by a sketch of the future course of his life (ii 1–22). There follows an anapaestic passage in which the chorus prepares to leave the stage in order to press on the marriage between Dictys and Danae, who is eager to be consoled (ii 23–34). But if this was Aeschylus’ version of the story it differs in several respects from what is recounted in other places and one needs only reject the identification of the subjects of *χαίρω* and *δῦλοιτο* at col. ii 1 seq. to make it possible to assign the parts (except that of Danae and the chorus) in other ways.

The view that the *Δικτυούλκοι* was a satyric drama may now be regarded as proved, if it be accepted that in col. i the chorus refers to itself as bald and ruddled. The tone of col. ii 23 seqq. points the same way, even if it could not by itself be regarded as proof. There is, therefore, to be remarked the employment of an unusual proportion of Doric words and forms: *μικός* twice, *Φίντων*, *πάπας*, *θᾶσθαι*, *δύρ-ιχοις*, though it cannot be maintained that these are specifically Peloponnesian and might be argued that they are Sicilian Doric.

Col. i

Col. i

]. . [ . ]. ανκαιθεους μαρτυρομαι	<i>ΔΙΚΤ.</i>	]. . [ . ]. αν καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι	(765)
]. . αντικηρυξσω στρατῳ		]. . αντι κηρύξσω στρατῳ	
] παντάπαξι μη φθαρῆς		] παντάπαξι μη̄ φθαρῆς	
]. ο[ . ]α προξενονθαμα		]. ο[ . ]α πρόξενόν θ' ἄμα	
]. ουμεκαι προπρακτορα		] ου με καὶ προπράκτορα	

[.].εμαιανωγερασμιαν	[.].ε μαῖαν ὡς γερασμίαν	(770)
[..ηποιεπροσφθεγμασιν	[..ηπίοις προσφθέγμασιν	
[...[.][.].]εγχρονωιμενει	[...[.][.].]εν χρόνωι μενεῖ.	
[...αιγενεθλιοιθεο.	[.καὶ γενέθλιοι θεοί,	
10 [.αστ.σδεμοιπονωντιθεις	[.ας τάσδε μοι πόνων τιθεὶς	
[.][.δ.κνω.αλοιφεδωσετε	[.][.δ. κνωδάλοις με δώσετε	(775)
[...γοισιλύμανθομαι	[...γοισι λυμανθήσομαι	
[μαλωτοс...[.]ζωκα	[αἰχμάλωτος ο. ε[.]ζω κακά	
[.αιγοηγαγχονηραφομαι	[.αιγοηγαγχόνην ἄρ' ἀφομαι	
15 ]αστε.ο.σακωλυτηριον	[αστεμούσα κωλυτήριον	
[ωμηποντισητισαυπαλιν	[ως μη ποντίσῃ τις αῦ πάλιν	(780)
[τησηπατηρδεδοικαγαρ	[της ἥ πατήρ· δέδοικα γάρ	
[πεμπαρωγονειδοκειτιψα	[πέμπ' ἀρωγόν, εὶ δοκεῖ, τινα.	
[ειχεσαιτιαστημεζονοс	[εἶχες αὐτίας τῆς μεζονος	
20 ]νδεπасанεξετειсегω	[ν δὲ πᾶσαν ἐξέτειс' ἐγώ.	
[ευτελεξапантεхеи[.]λογон	[εὺς ἡ ἐλεξα. πάντ' ἔχει[ε] λόγον. (785)	
[.γε.αμιου.,οсоровн	[.γελᾶν μον προσορῶν	
[.ομικκοслитарон	[.δ. μικκὸς λιπαρὸν	
[.λτ[.]πρεπτ.ιφαλакропн	[.λτ[.]πρεπτ. ν φαλακρὸν	
25 ]ειс.παпастисарес	[ειс. παπας τις ἀρεс-	
[.ωи[.]о.покилонов	[.ωи[.]ο ποκιλονω	(790)
[.]	[.]	
[...λαιсмои	[...λαιсмои	
[...смос	[...смос	
30 ]..ιδеркη	[..ιδερκη	
[ποсθосфилηсонеоссос	[†ποсθосфилήс ὁ νεοссօс	(795)
[ε.κομенос	[ε. κόμενος	
[сюн	[сюн	
[утаи	[утаи	

1 Not γαιαν 2 παντι possible but not verifiable 3 μη not satisfactory, η too broad and not tall enough, and some ink to the right of it not explained 4 ], the curved base of a letter like ε; ]co[v]ca would suit 5 Before ον a spot of ink on the line compatible with a horizontal base line, but δ not verifiable 6 ], a spot of ink on the line, possibly ]τε, ]γε, not ]εε 7 ], part of a sloping stroke above the line, perhaps slightly curved, ]ο possible 10 ], traces of an upright 12 At the beginning scattered traces, compatible with ]ελο 13 If ε[ is right, a narrow letter must be missing between it and ]ξ, but perhaps in spite of appearances εξ should be read, with no letter missing, and in that case οδε' εξω might become possible 14 ], tip of a tail sloping down to the

line, ]λ, &c. 22 ], some traces level with the top of γ, ηδ]η not suggested but not excluded 23 ], the top and bottom of a vertical stroke 24 μ]λτ[ο]πρεπτον perhaps possible, though τρ rather squeezed 30 ]τρη not satisfactory, though τ followed by a tailed letter seems more probable than ]πι 31 θεοφ. may have been meant but was not written, and the same might be said of ποсθосфилήс

Col. ii.	Col. ii.
ειμηсεχαιρωπ[	εὶ μή сε χαίρω π[
θ олоитодиктусκр[	ὅλοιτο Δίκτυς κρ[
τηсдемаурасм[	τῆсдемаурас м[
афитавниθид[	ῳ Φίντων, ἴθι δε[ὑρο.
5 ποппусмо.[	ποппусмо[
θарсeидηтиκaнuрη[	θάρсeιδηтиκaнuрη;
δ.нreспaiдасiаmеnвaс.[	δeнp, eс пaнdас iаmеn wс[ (805)
иxηпaиdoтroфouсeма[	иxηпaиdoтroфouсeма[
афиloсxеpасeумeнη[	афиloсxеpасeумeнη,
10 тeрphдиkтиcик[.]γeбpo[	тeрphдиkтиcик[.]γeбpo[
uстриxaнtобriхoиc[.]	uстриxaнtобriхoиc[.]
коимηcη.εtritocxun[	коимηcη.εtritocxun[
μηтri[....]aтritaиdе[	μηтri[....]aтritaиdе[
oтapa[...].paреξe[	oтapa[...].paреξe[
15 тaиmиккa[.]aгeл[...].a[	тaиmиккa[.]aгeл[...].a[
кaиtpoфaсaнoсouсoпa.п[	кaиtpoфaсaнoсouсoпa.п[
aлdωaнaнtoсe[...].[...]	aлdωaнaнtoсe[...].[...]
xaлaиneбroфoн[.]pоd[	xaлaиneбroфoн[.]pоd[
maрpttaиnθraсaгeнu[	maрpttaиnθraсaгeнu[
20 θaиchaиtriпaрeξe[	θaиchaиtriпaрeξe[
.].δeс. aнtropoноuсiн[	.].δeс. aнtropoноuсiн[
.]yтropoсpeлaтuecseic	.]yтropoсpeлaтuecseic
...]eiafiiloиcтeixaмeнoпaс	...]eiafiiloиcтeixaмeнoпaс
.].munoрmaиnaнepeit. leos[	.].muнорmaиnaнepeit. leos[
25 ].aирoсaнaнdostad' epaиg[.]	].aирoсaнaнdostad' epaиg[.]
]kaiтhηd[.]coрaнuмfηn[.]η	]kaiтhηd[.]coрaнuмfηn[.]η
kaiпaиnbouлomeнhηt.ηmeтeraс	kaiпaиnbouлomeнhηt.ηmeтeraс
].fiilotгtocaдhнkorecaсhai	].fiilotгtocaдhнkorecaсhai
].kaithauмoиdeneпoлouсhнaнt[.]	].kaithauмoиdeneпoлouсhнaнt[.]

άλλ]εла, фiлоi, стeíxωμeν őпaс  
γ]άмoн őрmaиnaнe, pеi тéleoс  
kaiрdс aնaнdос tад' pаиnеi  
kai тýнd' []coрaнuмfηn [δ]η  
paиn boлomeнhηt.ηmeтeraс  
fiilotгtocaдhнkorecaсhai.  
kai thauмoиdeneпoлouсhнaнt

30]χρονοσονχηρακαταναυνυφαλος ]τειρετονυνδουν .].ωσηθητηημετεραν ...] <sup>τ. Ιον</sup> ειγανυταινυμφ[.]ονηθη ...] <sub>ειν</sub> λαμπραιστησα[.]ροδειτης	χρόνος ὃν χήρα κατὰ ναῦν ὑφαλος τείρετο· νῦν δ' οὖν ἐ]σορως' ἥβην τὴν ἡμετέραν (830) ...]ει γάνυται νυμφ[ι]ον 'ο]ιον' ...] <sub>ειν</sub> λαμπραῖς τῆς Α[φ]ροδίτης
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3 μ[ might be φ[. 11 Aesch. fr. 48 N<sup>2</sup>] 17 ε apparently followed by χ or ν, next a round-topped letter, ε or ο, then faint traces of the top and bottom of an upright, then the bottom of an upright; after the gap, a spot of ink on the line, the greater part of an upright of which the top has gone, probably ι, and a slightly curved upright most like the first stroke of π or ν 18 The left-hand curve of ο[ or ω[ 20 Aesch. fr. 49 N<sup>2</sup>] 32 ]φρ mere spots of ink on a single fibre

Col. i 2 παντὶ .σπρατῶ i.q. παντὶ δῆμω, cf. Eum. 566-9.

3 παντάπατι hitherto unknown to tragedy (or poetry at all before Pherecrates in the *Koriænū*, Athen. x. 430c) but to be adduced from old Ionic verse.

5 προπράκτωρ only here. It seems to mean 'champion' but not 'avenger'. προπράσσειν apparently in the sense of exacting something on somebody's behalf at Choeph. 834.

7 νηπίοις is not excluded by the ink but seems to be so by the sense.

8 Perhaps ὄρκος, πίτις or the like is the subject, but it is not to be recognized in the traces.

14 ἀγχόνην (βρόχον) ἀψαθαι, cf. Od. xi. 278, Semon. i. 18, 'knot the noose', like the English slang, 'kick the bucket'.

17 Perhaps ἀκολ[η]της η more probably than ]τήση.

19 seq. It is hard to doubt that Danae is here addressing Zeus, and εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχες αἰτίας τῆς μεῖζονος, τὴν ζημιὰν δὲ πᾶς εἶσέτεις' ἐγώ seems unavoidable, but this is not a correct way to express 'the greater part of the blame was yours'. Zeus did not have a share of the greater part of the blame, he had the greater part of the blame for his share, so that the object of μετεῖχες should be in the accusative. τῆς αἰτίας η μεῖζων (for which verse, I suppose, might substitute αἰτίας η μεῖζων, though I find no parallel for such an omission of the article) would be analogous to Plato's τὴν μεγίστην τῆς εὐλαβείας (Rep. iii. 416b) as an equivalent of τῆς αἰτίας τὸ μεῖζον μέρος, and μετεῖχες αἰτίας τὴν μεῖζονα should have been written, if εἶχες αἰτίας τὴν μεῖζονα was too simple or imprecise.

22 seqq. Cf. Soph. *Dionysiscus*, in Lex. *Messan.* (Rh. Mus. 47, 411) = fr. 171 Pearson. The choriambs at the ends of 22-6 suggest choriambic dimeters (cf. *Cyclops* 41 seqq.) but these appear not to be Aeschylean and difficulties of supplementation arise in e.g. 24 and 27.

24 Aeschylus uses μιλτόπεπτος of mulberries in fr. 116 N<sup>2</sup>. If correctly read here, it may tell us something we did not know about the satyric chorus. For its 'baldness' see Soph. *Ichn.* 359.

25 Presumably πᾶς τις in spite of col. ii 14, in which case εἰς ὅπα seems most likely to have preceded but is not verifiable.

26 Some case of ποικιλόνυτος seems probable, an adjective most often applied to the snake, but also to the roe-deer, of which satyrs are represented as wearing the skin.

Col. ii 1 seq. I take this to mean 'Damme if I am not glad . . .', δλοιτο Δίκτυε being equivalent to δλοιμην. A fairly close formal parallel is O.T. 1360 seqq. (εἰμι . . . ἔφν . . . ἔλαχ' Οἰδίπονε); at Aj. 864 seq. the third person precedes the first (Αἰτας θροεῖ . . . μυθήσομαι). Aesch. Suppl. 177 seq., Soph. O.T. 534 seq., O.C. 1329 involve the same principle.

2 seq. The 'catch' is Danae and Perseus and since Perseus is directly addressed in verses 4-22 it is a question whether φίντων should not be taken to be a common noun, 'darling', instead of a proper name. But I find no evidence which supports this notion and Phinton seems a suitable name for a satyr, though not attested as such (C. Fränkel, *Satyr- u. Bakchennamen*).

5 Cf. the παρεπιγραφή in *Ichn.* 107-8, *Cycl.* 487, *Eum.* 117, &c.

7 Cf. 16, a phalaecian. ω c.[ less probable.

11 Aelian implies a reading ὀβρίοις and it is conceivable that -ριχ- is repeated from ὑετρίχων, but a diminutive ending -ιχο- is guaranteed by ὁσιάχος and similar words and by proper names like Αμύντιχος. Photius is in any case so far from the truth that his evidence does not much reinforce Aelian's.

16 I imagine the sense to be: '(Dad will provide you with jokes) and healthy nurture, so that having brought you up a strong lad when he rests from the hunt you can catch the game and give it your mother for the pot.' But there are difficulties about such a reconstruction. ἐπεὶ does not seem to be a possible reading and the traces at the end of the line suit no word for 'bow' or 'bowstring' that I can think of. Besides, in the circumstances I should rather expect χαλάσῃ, 'when he has unstrung his bow', i.e. given up hunting, than χαλᾶ, 'whenever he unstrings', i.e. stays at home for a change.

17 ἀλδω or ἀλδέω occur in lexical literature as the πρωτότυπον of ἀλδαίνω and ἀλδήσκω, but I should prefer to suppose that what we have here is the aorist participle of ἀλδαίνω (to which it bears the same relation as ἀλθεών, Hippoc. ap. Galen. 19, 76, to ἀλθαίνω) not elsewhere attested in the active but used by Nicander (*Alexiph.* 532 ἐναλδόμενον πρασιῆς) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthom.* ix. 475 ἀλδομένη ἀνέμοις) in the middle.

18 If a letter less had been preserved at the end of the line, it would have been natural to suggest ποσὶν μάρπτων θῆρας ἀνεν δορός 'running down the game without spear', but since ποδ[ι] satisfies neither the metre, which requires an iambus, nor usage, which requires the plural (Il. xxii. 201, Archil. 59, &c.), ποδ[ε]ς is to be presumed, with which ἀνεν δορός, though not impossible, is less satisfactory, though Professor Fraenkel compares Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 26 λέοντι . . . παλαοῖσαν ἀτερ ἐγχέων.

21 seq. 'Like thy' or 'her kinsmen' (i.e. the Seriphian fishermen, to whom Perseus and Danae become related by Danae's marriage with Dictys) 'whom thou wilt reverently serve'. (πελάτευεν (πελάτης ὁ ἀντὶ τροφῶν ὑπηρετῶν Timaeus, lex. Plat. in v.) and ἐντροπος, which seems unavoidable and is to ἐντροπή as πρόστροπος (beside προστρόπαος) to προστροπή, are both unattested.) But I must confess that if this is the meaning, it seems rather flat.

24 The normal diaeresis after δρμαίνω- is neglected as at A. *Suppl.* 625 and similarly *Agam.* 75, 84, &c. δρμαίνω is ordinarily used of some mental activity 'deliberate on', 'think of how to do', which is oddly preceded by *cteίχωμεν ὅπως*.

33 The end of the line has been affected by the recollection of the end of 26.

34 Perhaps δαι]σιν.

## 2162. AESCHYLUS, Θεωροὶ ἡ Ἰσθμιασταῖ?

The following fragments, being in the same hand as the *Nóβη*, *Δικτυούλκοι* and other pieces by Aeschylus, published in P.S.I. xi and this volume, are prima facie Aeschylean and if Aeschylean may reasonably be conjectured to belong to the play entitled *Θεωροὶ ἡ Ἰσθμιασταῖ*. If that was a satyric drama—and Athenaeus quotes from it a line which implies that a *χῆμα ὄρχήσεως σατυρικόν* occurred in it—the envoys to the Isthmia of the title will have been the chorus of satyrs itself. In our fragments, of which it will be recognized that both the general tone and certain details of diction and metre are more in keeping with a satyr play than a tragedy, a body of persons is found approaching a temple of Poseidon with votive offerings and is presently joined by another character who scolds them, a theme which recurs, for hankering after Isthmian contests to the neglect of their proper business which is dancing.

But the identification is of little practical importance for the interpretation of the papyrus, since the action of the *Θεωροὶ* is completely unknown. Whether or not the speaker of fr. 1 (a), col. i 23 seq. is the same as the speaker of fr. 2 (a), col. ii 1-6, there is no reasonable doubt that the target of their criticism is the same character, which, as it can be referred to both in the plural and the singular number, is naturally taken to be the chorus, though if there were a character in the play who stood to the chorus in the same relation as, for example, Silenus to the chorus of the *Ichneutae*, it might not in every instance be possible to distinguish which of the two was being addressed. Since in fr. 1 (a), col. i this character is outside the temple of Poseidon whereas in fr. 2 (a), col. ii, it appears to have taken refuge within it, we must infer that fr. 1 (a) precedes fr. 2 (a), but whether fr. 2 (a), col. i, forms the top part of fr. 1 (a), col. ii, cannot be determined. It is not suggested by the appearance of the papyrus and there is no obvious connexion between the end of fr. 1 (a), col. ii, and the beginning of fr. 2 (a), col. ii, but I cannot say that the possibility is to be excluded. The course of the action is more or less as follows: A body of persons is approaching the temple of Poseidon at the Isthmus, carrying votive offerings which consist of likenesses of themselves, statuettes (implied by *τὸ Δαιδάλου μίμημα*) and painted *πίνακες* (implied by *καλλγραπτον εὐχάν*, *ἐπιπασσάλενε*).<sup>1</sup> They are presently found here by a person, who stands towards them in a position of authority or at any rate of whose bounty they live, who rates them for forgetting the proverb that bids the cobbler stick to his last. If the chorus consists of satyrs, we might recognize Dionysus, in whose mouth the reference to ivy would be specially appropriate. There is too little left of fr. 1 (a), col. ii, and fr. 2 (a), col. i, and their contexts to make it profitable to speculate who is defending himself against charges of effeminacy and whose is the 'rude lodging' spoken of, but in fr. 2 (a), col. ii, reproaches of the same tenor as in fr. 1 (a), col. i

<sup>1</sup> Professor Fraenkel is strongly of the opinion that only one object is in question, namely, satyr-masks, and that the fixing of these to the temple has reference to the fact that such masks are actually found as 'antefixes' covering the ends of the roofing tiles.

## 2162. AESCHYLUS, ΘΕΩΡΟΙ Η ΙΣΘΜΙΑΣΤΑΙ?

23 seqq. are continuing, ending with a threat of punishment, to which the reply is made that the threatened party will not leave the asylum of the shrine. Hereupon, a new speaker comes on the scene, who offers the angry man—in return for a passage?—some object made with adze and anvil, an offer he at first refuses but when accompanied by a promise to join in visiting the Isthmia, a promise one would have thought unapt to mollify one who has so recently inveighed against the Isthmia, he seems disposed to accept.

But I do not conceal from myself that there is much that has not been brought satisfactorily into the picture.

## Fr. I (a). Col. i.

ορωντες, ικον[.]ουκαταυθρωπους[  
οπηδανε[.]δηγσπαντασιταδ' ευσεβη[  
ηκαρτοφειλωτωνδεσοιπροφρωνγαρει  
ακουεδηπασσιγαδειθ. λειδ[...].  
5 αθρησονεψη[...]. [ ]  
ειδωλονειναιμποντεμημορφηπλεον  
τοδαιδαλουμ[.].ημαφω.ησδειμονον  
ταδ[...].ει.  
10 ορα[.].ωρ[. ]  
χωρειμαλα  
ευκταιακοςμονταη[.].ωιθεωιφερω  
καλλιγραπ.ονευχαν  
τημητριτημηπραγματανπαραςχεθοι  
ιδουναγαρν... ναφως  
15 τρεποιταναξιαζοιτοθως  
.οκουςεμεναιτονεξ  
εθ. εψε. υτωςεμφερησοδεετν[  
ειαδησκοπειτεδωμαποντιουσειςχθο[  
καπιπασαλενε. αστοστησκ[.]ληγμορφηс.[  
20 αγγελονκηρυк[.]γανδονεμπορονκωλυτορ[  
. [.]. επισχησεικελευθουσιενο[.].φ[.]  
χαιραναξχαιρωποσεδονεπιτροπο[.].[  
εμελλονευρησεινάρ' υμασωγαθο[  
οντουτερωασουδηλοσησθοιπο[  
25 αν[.]. ελευθοσταυταμοιπροσεν[  
. ].ρωντατουσδεπληс[.]όсф[  
. ].αυτακαισαφωσηγειτομο[  
. ].τα. δω[.].μη[.].δωιπατ[  
..ωρμυουρακαυβραχεατ[.].[...].α  
30 ωσεξετριβεισθμιαστικηγ[....]ν  
κουκημελησασαλλεγυμναζ[....]λωс  
ειδουνεεωζουτηηπαλαιπαρο[....].  
τουρχημαμαλλονεικοσηγε[....]ειν  
σιδισθμιαζεισκαιπροπουσκαι[....].θω[

## Fr. I (b).

[.][  
]τιτοι[  
]с.λευ[  
]νδαμωс[  
5 ].χυπωск[  
]оссаδημ[  
].асун[  
]салло[  
]исфи[  
10 ].ουκε[  
]ρωντ[  
].[ ]

## Col. ii.

[.].ον[  
]ντο[  
....[.].δηδ[  
сакеикалнфас[...].εν[  
спеиреисдемиуθонт[.].δε[  
καιρημатиζειсeиceм.κтp...[  
ωсоденеумитημиdηрнt[  
γунниcданалкисоuнeиm[  
καιuнntадаllакaiпoтa[  
εхтиcтapantωnтw[

## 2162. AESCHYLUS, ΘΕΩΡΟΙ Η ΙΩΜΙΑΓΤΑΙ?

## Fr. I (a). Col. i.

δρωντες εικον[.] ού κατ' ἀνθρώπους[ .  
— δη πη δ' ἀν ἔρδης, πάντα σοι τάδ' εὐσεβή.  
— ή κάρτ' ὀδειλω τῶνδε σοι πρόφρων γὰρ εἰ.  
— ἄκουε δὴ πᾶς σύγα δειθ. λειδ[...].  
5 ἄθρησον εἰπ[...].[ ]  
εἴδωλον εἴναι τοῦτ' ἐμῆι μορφῆι πλέον  
τὸ Δαιδάλου μ{ε}ιμημα φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον.  
ταδ[...].ει.  
δρα[.].ωρ[. ]  
χωρει μάλα.  
— εὐκταῖα κόσμον ταῦτ[α] τῶι θεῶι φέρω,  
καλλίγραπτον εὐχάν.  
— τῇ μητρὶ τῆμη πράγματ' ἀν παρασχέθοι.  
ιδοῦνα γάρ νη ἀν σαφῶς  
15 τρέποιτ' ἀν τάξιαζοιτό θ' ὡς  
δοκοῦς ἔμ' εἴναι, τὸν ἔξ-  
έθρεψεν· οὕτως ἐμφερῆς ὅδ' ἔστιν.  
εἴλα δὴ σκοπεῦτε δῶμα ποντίου σεισίχθο[νος  
κάπιπασσάλεν' ἔκαστος τῆς κ[α]λῆς μορφῆς[  
20 ἄγγελον, κήρυκ[ά]ναδον, ἔμπορον κωλύτορ[α,  
. [.]. ἐπισχήσει κελεύθου τοὺς ξένο[ν] φ[.]  
χαῖρ' ἄναξ χαῖρ' ὁ Πόσειδον ἐπιτροπο[.].[  
— ἔμελλον εἰρήσειν ἄρ' ὑμᾶς, ὡγαθο[ί].  
οὔτούτερως', οὐ, δῆλος ἥcθ' ὅδοιπο[ρῶν.  
25 αῦ[τή] κέλευθος ταῦτά μοι προσεν[νέπει  
. ].ρωντα τούςδε πληс[ι]οсф[  
. ].αντά καὶ σαφῶς ἡγεντό μο[ι  
. ].τα. δω[.].μη[.].δωα πατ[  
. ].ων μύουρα καὶ βραχέα τα[.].[...].α,  
30 ώς ἔξέτριβες 'Ιсθμιαστικηγ[....]ν  
καὶ ρήματίζεις εἰς ἔμ' ἔκτρ..[  
ώς οὐδέν εἰμι τὴν πάλαι παρο[μία]ν,  
τούρχημα μᾶλλον εἴκος ἦν σε[.].ειν.  
εὺ δ' ίсthμιάзeις καὶ τρόπους και[νούς μ]αθὼν

## Col. ii.

[.].ον[  
]ντο[  
....[.].δηδ[  
сакеикалнфас[...].εн[  
спеиреисдемиуθонт[.].δе[  
καιρημатиζεиcеиcм.ктp...[  
ωсоденеумитηмиdηрнt[  
γунниcданалкисоuнeиm[  
καιuнntадаllакaiпoтa[  
εхтиcтapantωnтw[

35 βραχεία...[...]ς κεισχρηματαφθειρωνεμα  
κτεα[ ]εταντεπ. ρανωπονωγ  
πλινειστεμαυτον[  
εφηναγειρωπλ[

Fr. 2 (a).

Col. i.  
]. . . ρκονεεστιο[.]κα[...]ογειν  
]κακωσολοιοκαιτ. ε.....ε  
]α...ηηισοιπ...[ ]...νε..ν  
]. [.]φνοντωσή[  
5 ]οψλονητριδουλ[  
]αξδικα[...]ω[.]θενα[....][...].  
]ωιτεκ[...]καικακαισδ[.]α. λίαις  
]ειπαλαιο. τοιγδενοικτ[...].  
. δεπ[.][.]ασπολυπ[.]δο[  
10 ]. νγων[...]. [.]ατονδ'[.].  
]οτεραπαθωγτιδε[  
]υπολλαδρασασω[  
]. αθαρσωνλεξ[  
]ωνιερωιμεν[  
15 ]. [.]ςτ[.].[  
]ν[.

Col. ii.  
κοδεισπαλαιωνοδετωννεωτερω[  
εκωναπεετιωνδεδιστοιχω[  
συδισθμιαζειςκαιπιτνοεεστ[  
καλλοιικισσογδομ[.]μοντιμη[  
ταυτουνδακρυσεισουκαπω[  
παρονταδεγγυσουχοραιματα[  
αλλουποτέξειμε[ Fr. 2 (b).  
τουιερουκαιτιμο[  
ταυταπειλεισ[.]ειμπε[  
ισθμιοναντε[.]νεψ[  
ποσειδανοσ[.]θυρ[  
συδαλλοιισταυτ[.]ει[  
....[.]ακαιναταυταμα[  
εγω[...]. ὥκοινεοχμα[  
απο[...]παρνουκακμ[  
τουτ[...]πρωτονεεστιοιτ[.]ν[.].α.[...].ν  
εμοιμενουχιτωνφιλωννιμοντιν[  
μηπαπειμηδορνειθοσουνεκωγαθε[  
τιδηγανουιθαιτουτοκαιτιχρησομαι[  
20 ηηπερμεθειλ[...]ντεχηηηταυτ[.]πρε[  
τιδαντιποιειν[...].τιπλουημον[.]ανδαν[  
ξυνιισθμιαζειν[....]εμμελεστατ.ν  
φερω[.]ειμβησεται  
επιε[.]βαδηηελ.с  
25 ..]ει[.]φ.ρωνсфура  
..]е[.

## 2162. AESCHYLUS, ΘΕΩΡΟΙ Η ICΘΜΙΑCTAI?

35 βραχ{ε}ιο[ν' ἀ]ςκεῖc, χρήματα φθείρων ἐμά πλύνεις τ' ἔμ' αντὸν[  
κτεα[ ]ε ταῦτ' ἐπ. ρανωι πόνων ἐφ' ἦν ἀγείρω πλ[

Fr. 2 (a).

Col. i.  
]. . . ρκον ἐστι σο[.] κα[...]φρονεῦ  
]κακῶς ὅλοιο καὶ τ. ε.....ε  
]α...ηηι σοι πρ...[ ]...νε..ν  
]. [.]φνοντωσή[  
5 ]ουλον η τρίδουλ[ο  
]αξ δικα[...]ω[.]θενα[....][...].  
]ωι τε κο[ίτ]ωι καὶ κακαῖς δι[ν]αδίαις —  
]ει παλαιο. τουδ' ἐνοικτ[...].  
. δεπ[.][.]ασ πολυπ[.]δο[  
10 ]. ενγων[...]. [.]ατονδ'[.].  
]οτερα παθων τι δε[  
]ν πολλὰ δράσας ω[  
]. α θαρσῶν λεξ[  
τ]ῶι ιερῶι μεν[  
15 ]. [.]ςτ[.].[  
]ντ[.

Col. ii.  
κούδεις παλαιῶν οὐδὲ τῶν νεωτέρων  
έκων ἄπετι τῶνδε διστοίχων  
]α...ηηι σοι πρ...[ ]...νε..ν  
σὺ δ' ίσθμιαζεις καὶ πίνυος ἐστ[εμμένος  
κλάδοιςι κισσοῦ δ' οὐδ[α]μοῦ τιμῆ[  
ταῦτ' οὖν δακρύσεις οὐ καπνῶ[ι  
παρόντα δ' ἔγγυς οὐχ ὄραις τα[  
ἀλλ' οὔποτ' ἔξειψ' ε[  
τοῦ ιεροῦ καὶ τί μοι[  
ταῦτ' ἄπειλεῖς ε[  
"Ισθμιον αντε[  
Ποσειδᾶνος ο[  
σὺ δ' ἄλλοις ταῦτ[  
— ....[.]α καινὰ ταῦταμα[  
ἐγω[...].ω σοι νεοχμᾶ[  
ἀπὸ [σκε]πάρνου κάκμ[ονος  
τοῦτ[...] πρῶτον ἐστί σοι τ[.]ν[.].α.[...].ν .  
— ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχί · τῶν φίλων νεῦμόν τινι.  
— μὴ ἄπειπε μηδ' ὄρνυθος οὔνεκ', ὡγαθέ,  
— τί δὴ γανοῦσθαι τοῦτο; καὶ τί χρήσομαι;  
20 — ἥνπερ μεθεῖλ[εις τῆ]ν τέχνην ταύτη[ι] πρεπ[  
— τί δ' ἀντιποιεῖν [...]τιπλουν μον[.]ανδάν[ει];  
— ξυνιισθμιαζειν [...] εμμελέστατον.  
— φέρω[.]έμβήσεται.  
— ἐπιε[.]βαδηηελ.с  
25 ..]ει[.]φ.ρων сфура  
..]е[.

**Fr. 1 (a)** Col. i 1 Only part of the bottom arc of ε is left but ρίκον[ε] appears to be improbable 2 The space would appear more suitable to ε[ι]δῆμε 4 θελ perhaps possible but not satisfactory 5 ., two spots of ink in the position of the ends of the arc of c or ε 5 ., the bottom and the top of letters containing arcs, the second θ or o but not ε or c 8 At an interval after ε the top part of an upright 9 α., middle of the left-hand arc of c or a like letter. χ]ωρε[ι] is a natural way of combining the traces, but ω might be taken as parts of η or μο and all that is left of ε[ε] is the left-hand curve; π]ητρο[ε] improbable, μορω[ε] a possible reading 21 Of the first letter only traces of a curved base remain, of the third the right-hand end of a high cross-bar or branch; ο[ε]γγ, ο[ε]τρ possible, but not verifiable After φ the top part of a stroke turning over to the right, perhaps ρ or ο 22 Or πω[ε] The last letter resembles φ, the remains consisting of the top left-hand arc of a circle with an upright ascending from it, but there is no sign of the cutting of the circle by the upright 26 ., top of a letter like ο 28 ., upper part of an upright with a clubbed top, perhaps right-hand stroke of η Of μη only the bases are left; they are followed by the lower part of an upright and a spot on the line consistent with e.g. τ or τρ 29 At the beginning very slight traces on the line, suggesting the base of a rounded letter, followed by the tail of a letter descending a little below the line; ορ would suit 35 ορ only traces on a single loose fibre 36 There seems to be room between π and ρ for only one letter and the ink looks like κ; neither πκρ nor πηρ suggested

**Fr. 1 (b)** Apparently part of fr. 1 (a), col. ii 1 ., the tail of φ or ψ 3 σελευθ probable, but ε and θ might be other circular letters 4 ο]δε 5 ., a spot level with the top of χ, possibly the right-hand tip of a cross-bar, e.g., παχχυ 6 ., perhaps the top of α 6 Of μ only the tip of the left-hand tail 7 ., top of φ or ψ 8 ., a trace which would suit the top left-hand arc of c or the like 9 ., a spot level with the top of i which would suit λ 12 A high cross-bar and the tops of two strokes which meet it, not apparently ]π[

**Fr. 1 (a)** Col. ii 1-24 lost except for what is preserved in fr. 1 (b), if that is correctly assigned to the right-hand side of this column on the strength of its appearance back and front 27 Of the first letter there remains a curved base consistent with c and like letters 1 ., the right-hand tip of δ or λ; this is followed by the lower half of an upright and this, at an interval, by what looks like the lower half of an irregularly made κ but is perhaps part of α 30 Of εκ there remains only the bottom left-hand part of the arc of ε and the end of the tail of κ τρ is followed by the left-hand arc of ε or ο and this by the middle part of a stroke consistent with the first upright of π 32 If μ, there are traces of the next letter and μο[ should be written, but μο[ μο[ more probable

**Fr. 2 (a)** Col. i 1 Between κα and φ there seems to be more than enough room for [τα] or [κο] but too little for [κωε] or [λωε], [μοε] would fit 2 τιε or τρε, then traces suiting ιο or ιε; the third or fourth letter from the end may, to judge from the flattened curve of its top, have been ε or c 3 Before η the lower part of a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps κ, χ, or λ After πρ traces of tops of letters including cross-bars as of τ or the like νεψι? 4 ., perhaps the right-hand bottom angle of ν After η the left end of a cross-bar, probably τ or π 6 Possibly ηκε Or ηο[ 8 Between η and τ traces of ink perhaps compatible with ν After κτ the left-hand arc of a circle 9 ., right-hand arc of ο or ω 10 ., a spot of ink above the level of the line 10 ., a spot on the line followed by a vertical stroke; may belong to different letters Of η only the tip of the tail 13 ., a vertical stroke, ι or the second upright of ν The bottom of λ is lost, δ possible 15 ., the top of a circular letter with a dot above to the right 16 Or π[, ψ[

**Fr. 2 (a)** Col. ii 8 Bare traces of the upper part of ι, other letters with an upright at the beginning, such as ν, would also suit 9 η followed by the tops of two strokes apparently sloping towards each other, hardly γ[, perhaps γ[ 14 ., a trace consistent with the top right-hand curve of ρ, [φε]ρ would suit There is no sign that ο as well as ι was cancelled 16 α is preceded by a spot of ink in the position of the right-hand end of a cross-bar; if τα or πα written, no other letter is lost α is followed by the lower half of an upright and this by a spot on the line 22 There seems scarcely room for ο between τ and ν 24 Only the left-hand arc of ι, letters like ο are also possible Between λ and c a rather high dot, perhaps the right-hand shoulder of η, but not particularly suggesting it

**Fr. 2 (b)** The appearance of this fragment makes it probable that it comes from the right-hand side of fr. 2 (a), col. ii

**Fr. 1 (a)** Col. i 2 ἔρξον δητη δή τοι νόσος ἐπλετο Il. 22. 185. καὶ ταῦτα μούτιν εὔσεβη...; Choeph. 122.

3 τῶνδε can hardly be participle, but the nearest parallel I find to δέσελω τοι τῶνδε 'I am in your debt for this', for which δέσελω τοι χάριν τῶνδε would be the natural expression, is τοῦ δώδεκα μνᾶς Πασται (δέσελω); Clouds 22.

5 seqq. One might expect either 'Look, speech alone is wanting for this image to be exactly like me' or 'Look whether it is possible for this image to be more like me; speech alone is wanting'. But apparently (though I can recognize no word for 'like' at the end of 5) something resembling 'Look whether, for this image to be more like me, speech alone is wanting' was written. For the construction cf. A. Suppl. 407.

7 τὸ Δαιδάλον μίμημα (which may be taken as in apposition to εἰδώλον τοῦτο, though it might be the object of δεῖ without affecting the sense) presumably means 'a likeness made by' or 'in the style of Daedalus'. Speech was sometimes attributed to his figures, as by Euripides, Hec. 838, and the writers quoted by the scholiast ad loc.

11 εὐκταῖα 'votive offerings' is attested by A. Suppl. 631, but parallels to εὐχῆ, 'the payment of a vow' and in particular 'the concrete object by means of which a vow is paid', are late, CIG. 2663, SIG. 1142, IG. xiv. 995. Cf. εὐχαλή, Naukratis, ii. 776-7.

13 The παράγραφος can hardly be in its right place. What puts the speaker's mother in a stew is the startling resemblance between him and the effigy.

15 The line seems metrically unacceptable in its context, and no division of the letters αναξιαζούτο produces reasonable words. ἀναξ ἀζούτο or simply ἀν ἀζούτο afford a sense but are not suggested as likely to be what was written. Professor Fraenkel suggests ἀσπάζούτο, the corruption having been caused by confusion with a v.l. δεξιότο.

20 The change of ἄνανδον, which is a favourite conceit (add 2161 col. ii 25 to the extant examples), to ἄνανδον seems so pointless that I am led to fear that the point is being missed.

There seems to be some relation intended between κωλύτορα and ἐπικήζει. What ἐπικορον means in this connexion I do not see; ἐπικόρων cjj. Fraenkel, Dodds.

24 One would expect οὐτοι ἔρεψε to form οὐθούντερψε (cf. θούνεκα), but no other way of interpreting the letters is satisfactory: 'I thought I should find you. It was clear you were travelling in this direction and no other. The road itself tells me this' (but I find no parallel for such a presumed equivalence of προσενέπω to ἐννέπω. Agam. 323 'say', not 'tell'). The reference to tracks is perhaps also to be recognized in lines 27 and 29.

32 That is: ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἔκαστος εἰδεῖη τέχνην.

36 Could ἐπηράνω πόνων, 'helper in (your) labours', have been meant?

**Fr. 1 (a)** Col. ii 31 Perhaps τέχνην, cf. Hesych. in v., where, however, the reference is to Eupolis, Ταξιαρχοι, as Pollux vii. 106 shows.

32. γύννικος of Dionysus in fr. 61 N<sup>2</sup>.

**Fr. 2 (a)** Col. i On the relation of these lines, which are prima facie iambic trimeters wanting 0-2 syllables at the beginning, to fr. 1 (a), col. ii, see the introduction.

9 If πολυπ[ο]δο[ε]ς, presumably an adjective, the noun having πονλυ- in Attic.

**Fr. 2 (a)** Col. ii 1 seqq. Bacchae 204 seqq. may illustrate the bearing of these verses.

2 διετοχω[ν] χορῶν? They neglect their dancing here as at fr. 1 (a), col. i 33.

3 For πίτυς as the Isthmian crown see Plut. Symp. v. 3.

4 καλλοῖς seems to have no place here. If κλάδοῖς is right, ἐκτ[εμ]ένος seems unavoidable, though the parallelism with fr. 1 (a), col. i 34, where καὶ is the conjunction, is then sacrificed. τιμῆ[ν] νέμεις, cf. Eumen. 624, would suit

5 'You will rue this conduct with genuine tears', cf. *Peace* 610 ὥστε τῶι καπνῷ πάντας Ἐλλῆνας δακρύσαι. It may not be necessary to infer that on some other occasion the persons addressed had filled their eyes with smoke, but there would be more point in the expression, if it were so. Another possibility is to put a full stop at δακρύσαι and supplement οὐ καπνῷ by some word meaning 'signalled' (cf. *Agam.* 497), so that the meaning would be 'You don't see the trouble you're going to get into when it's on you, not merely on the horizon'.

15 The speaker appears to be offering something, but what is made with adze, used for rough-hewing wood or stone, and anvil, used for beating metal?

16 There is no room for the requisite trochee; τὸ πρώτον...τῶν seems to be required.

18 μὴ ἀπειπε, see Goodwin, *M. and T.*, § 260. ἀπειπεῖν cum inf. 'refuse to do' is late, but the sense of ἀναίνεσθαι is extracted from ἀπειπεῖν without difficulty. ὅρνιθος οὐνεκ', cf. Plato, *Menex.* 249b, οἰωνοῦ χάρην 'for luck'.

19 'Why am I not to refuse to be delighted with this?' but the letters might also be divided τὶ δή; γανοῦσθαι τοῦτο; or τὶ δ'; η̄ γανοῦσθαι τοῦτο; with slight variations in the sense.

20 Perhaps πρέπ[ε] or [ειν] 'to show your pre-eminence in the art you have acquired'.

21 At first sight μ' οὐ[χ] ἀνδάν[ει]; seems the natural construction to put on the letters, but to judge by the next line the negative is embarrassing. The question seems to be: 'What is it agreed that you do for me in return for' whatever it is? The answer: 'That I be a good comrade to you at the Isthmian games ...'. At a guess, therefore, τὶ δ' ἀντιποιεῖν[δόν] τι πλοῦν μον[φ]ανδάν[ει]; suggested by the same speaker's next line: 'I accept ... will go aboard'.

**2163. AESCHYLUS, *Myrmidons*.**

The copy of the *Myrmidons* from which the miserable fragments here published derive may be taken with certainty to have been written by the same scribe who was responsible for 2159–62, 2164, 2178–9, and P.S.I. 1208–10, but it is again to be observed that the appearance of the writing is not exactly the same as in any of those MSS., and one must in this instance go further and say that there are at least as great differences of appearance between different groups of these fragments ascribed to the *Myrmidons* as there are between some of the MSS. of different plays. Fr. 1 is shown to come from the beginning of the *Myrmidons* by a partial coincidence with an ancient citation, fr. 8 by its contents. The ascription of the remainder is an assumption based on no more than their resemblance to these two and one another and the fact that they were found together.

**Fr. 1.**

.. . .	1a <τάδε μὲν λεύσσεις, φαιδρι' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
δοριλ[	1b δοριλ[υμάντους Δαναῶν μόχθους,
ὑνccυπ[	οὐς cū π[ροπιν] εἴ̄cw
κλισια[	κλισια[c
∴ ούνε[	ούνε[
5 δητ.[	5 δητ.[
ηρ.[	ηρ.[
τον[	τον[
.. . .	.. . .

**Fr. 2.**

[..]	[.]
]ωλει[	]εν[
]κοτα[	]..[
]	[..]
.. . .	.. . .

**Fr. 3.**

	Fr. 4.	Col. ii
	Col. i.	
	]ν[.]φησομεγ	[
	]ενωνκακανδρια	.[
	].α. αισατερδικης	..[
	] <alpha>αινεισω</alpha>	ctεν[
5	].ηςχεας[	επρ[
	].μερος	αβλ[
	] <i>a</i>	θ..[
	] <eta>ην[</eta>	

Fr. 5.	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7
]διο[	].[	].[
].....[	] $\pi\rho\alpha$ .[	]. $v\delta$ [
].μμα.[	] $\kappa\rho\sigma$ [	]. $v$ [
]δον[	] $\rho$ .[	
5 ].λλο[		
] $\eta$ [		

Fr. 8.  
] $\delta\sigma$ <sup>τ</sup> ανονητον  
] $\delta$ ιαφθορας  
. acceis  
. ναναξαχιλλευ  
5 ]λλαναμηπροδωςξ[  
] $\phi$ ιστονως  
] $\nu$ γνηταιμελα[  
] $\nu$ φρασαι ελ[  
] $\gamma$ εδ[  
] $\nu$ ρτ[  
io

2163. AESCHYLUS, MYPMIAONEC

25

Fr. 9.  
•  
] $\nu$   
]  
] $\pi\tau\omega\varsigma$   
] $ov$   
]. $\tau\iota\varsigma$   
]. $\rho\iota$   
][...[

	Fr. 10.
	• •
]. τελο[	
]. και προπ	
	Fr. 11.
	• •
]. . [	
]. ουκ εχωσα	
]. ασαι γηνιαδ	
]. πρασ' οπ	
5 ]. εμων φρε	
]. δυντο μωνι	
]. εγ[. ] στ. μ	
	]. αξω

**Fr. 1** *i seqq.* Aesch. fr. 131 N<sup>2</sup> 5 [, curved top of a letter, o possible 6 ., an upright stroke, + probable]

**Fr. 2** 1 The feet of an upright and a hooked stroke, possibly  $\text{J}\pi\text{[}$  2 ., the top left-hand part of a circular letter, perhaps  $\text{q}[$  3 The papyrus below this is blank, so it may be the last line of a column.

**Fr. 4** Col. i 3 *xauc* or *xauc* seems probable    5 Perhaps *joç* or *o*    Col. ii 2 A circular letter  
3 The top arc of a circular letter with a blot on it followed by a nearly horizontal stroke on the line

**Fr. 5 2** ]. $\delta\acute{e}t$  or  $\lambda\acute{e}t$  and the like are possible    3 Perhaps  $\jmath\acute{o}$  .[, the left-hand arc of a letter like c

**Fr. 6 2** [, the left-hand end of a cross-bar level with the tops of the letters,  $\pi$ [,  $\tau$ [, or the like  
4 The left-hand side of a circular letter,  $\theta$  or the like

**Fr. 7** 2 ., the tail of a letter like  $\mu$  or  $c$

**Fr. 8 3 ]**, a trace of the right-hand arc of a circle level with the top of  $a, ]\theta$  or  $]p$  possible  
right-hand arc of  $o$  or  $\omega$  8 Perhaps  $\beta\epsilon$  10  $\omega$  possible 4 ].

**Fr. 9** 5 ], right-hand arc of  $\circ$  or  $\omega$     6 ], a small loop on the line

**Fr. 10 2** ], a vertical stroke [ , the bottom left-hand quadrant of a circular letter.

**Fr. 11** 6 Of  $\beta$  only the right-hand tip of the base line Of  $\varsigma$  only the right-hand tips, of  $\tau$  only the cross-bar  
the cross-bar 7 Of  $\gamma$  only the right-hand upright Of  $\varsigma$  only the upper right-hand tip  $\pi$  might  
be read for  $\tau$

**Fr. 1 2** The rough breathing is written in this line over the first letter of the diphthong but in l. 4 over the second.

Harpocration, who quotes the verse, has only *οὐκ εἴτω κλισίας*; Blomfield supplied *εὐ προπίνεις* from the lemma, perhaps correctly, but the participle is also possible.

<sup>4</sup> The διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη was used in the texts of Homer and Plato to mark editors' alterations.

**Fr. 8** διαφθοράς, θάσσεις, ἄναξ Ἀχιλλεῦν, *"Ε]λλανα μὴ προδῶς ε[τραπόν* recall the lines quoted by Aristophanes, *Φθιώτ*’ Ἀχιλλεῦν, τί ποτ’ ἀνδροδάκτον ἀκούνων, ή, κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ’ ἀρωγάι; (*ἀρωγάν* *codd.*).

**Fr. 11 3** Cf. Eur. *Ino* (fr. 409 N<sup>2</sup>) μήτ' εὐτυχοῦσα πᾶσσαν ἔνθανεν νόσος.

2164. AESCHYLUS, Σάντριαι.

The largest of the three following fragments is shown to come from the *Σάτυρια* of Aeschylus by the coincidence of vv. 16-17 with a quotation known from several sources. That the two smaller also belong to it is not certain, but it is suggested by the fact that they, too, seem to contain lyric hexameters, a form of verse not so commonly employed that the coincidence should not carry some weight. The handwriting, while it does not look precisely the same as that of the other Aeschylean plays in this volume and P.S.I. xi, the most obvious difference being its smaller size, is nevertheless to be attributed to the same copyist.

Even with the present addition to the extant fragments the story of the *Ξάνθη* cannot be guessed. Some indications, the rending of Pentheus in Cithaeron, the mention of Cadmus and Semele, favour the hypothesis that the play dealt with Theban legend, but the introduction of Hera disguised as a begging priestess of the Argive river goddesses has no known relevance to this.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The doubts of Bruhn (*Bakchen*, 1891, p. 28) and v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Bakchen*, trs., 1923, p. 30) respecting Asclepiades' attribution of fr. 1, 16 seq. to this play are now seen to be baseless.

## Fr. I.

]. . . [  
 ]ραν' ἀλοιφα[  
 ]δ' ουπλεονηρας  
 ]υπεροπλότεροι  
 5     ...]. . . [θεκ[...]. . . γνυμεναι  
 πωθόνειρα[                  ]θη.[  
 μένο.. εων[                  ]όσιμος βιοτά,  
 φιλοιςινενμ. κεσι[.] στις φθονερ[  
 δοξαταικη[.] εμελαςδ' ε[  
 10   χομεθειναιδιαπαν [  
 ευθυποροινλα[  
 ταγαραλλαταδ'[  
 καδμωιςεμε[  
 .. παντοκρα[  
 15   .ην.γαμωνδ[  
 νυμφανᾶμερτεῦc[.....]ιαισιναγειρ[  
 ι. αχοναργειουποταμουπαισινβιοδώροι[  
 αἴτε. αριστανταιπασινβροτέοιςι. επεργ[  
 ει[                  ]. καμευμολποισυμ[  
 20   καιτ[                  ]εολέκτρουςαρτιγά[  
 λευκο[                  ]μμασινε[.] φρονες[  
 φωσδεκ[                  ]περομματοσες[  
 ]αιδωσγαρκαθαρακαν[.] μφ.. ομοσμέ[.] αρι[  
 ]παιδωνδ' ένκαρποντε[.] θειγενος· οῖς[  
 25   ]ἱλαιοιαντιάσουςιμελιφ[...]. υ.. ν.[  
 ]. μφότεραι, σύμεναιμ[  
 ]τραχειαιστυγεραιτεκαι[  
 .]γχιμολοι· πολλαζμεν[  
 ]γονευνάιουφωτ[  
 30   ]ελασιντεμιτραι[  
 ]εν τωι ᾁ περι των[  
 ]. [                  ]φα[  
 . . . .

## Fr. I.

]. . . [  
 εχ]ραν' ἀλοιφα[  
 ]δ' οὐ πλέον "Ηρας  
 ]υπεροπλότεροι  
 5     ...]. . . [θεκ[...]. . . γνύμεναι  
 πωθόνειρα[                  ]θη.[  
 μένο.. εων[                  ]όσιμος βιοτά,  
 φιλοιςινενμ. κεσι[.] στις φθονερ[  
 δόξα τ' ἀεικής. [C]εμέλας δ' ε[  
 10   χόμεθ' εῖναι διὰ πᾶν  
 ευθύπορον λα[  
 τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τάδ'[  
 Κάδμωι Σεμέ[λα  
 .. παντοκρα[  
 15   Ζηνί, γάμων δ[  
 ("HPA) νύμφαι ναμερτεῦc, κ[.....]ιαισιν ἀγείρ[ω,  
 'Ινάχου 'Αργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροι[ς,  
 αἴτε παρίστανται πᾶσιν βροτέοισιν ἐπ' ἔργ[οις  
 ει[                  ]. τε καὶ εύμολποις ὑμ[εναίοις  
 20   και τ[                  ν]εολέκτρους ἀρτιγάμ[ους τε  
 λευκο[                  ]μμασιν ε[υ]φρονες[  
 φῶς δεκ[                  ]περ ὅμματος εετ[  
 αἰδῶς γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ ν[υ]μφοκόμος μέ[γ] ἀρι[στα  
 παιδῶν δ' εύκαρπον τε[λ]έθει γένος, οἶδ[ι  
 25   ἱλαιοι ἀντιάσουσι μελιφ[...]. υ.. ν.[  
 ἀμφότεραι σύμεναι μ[  
 τραχεῖαι στυγεραιτεκαι[  
 ἀ]γχίμολοι· πολλὰς μὲν[  
 ]γον εύναιον φωτὸ[ς  
 30   ]ελασίν τε μίτραι[  
 . . . .

Fr. 2.

[*ωc[.]o.[*] μφομα[*μέ]μφομα[ι*]  
*λλαδιο.[* ἀ]λλὰ Διό[*c*]  
*φρεσιν·ε[*] φρεσίν, ε[*ι*]  
*δαιμων[* 5 δαιμων[*τι[.]εφραζω*]  
*ιρετεμ.[* χα]ίρετε με[*εχεσθε*]  
*.ηνοςδ[*]..ηνος δ[*ενέκλει[ά]ν θ[*]  
*ευκλει[.]νθ'[*]  
*καδμογ[α.]* Κάδμογ τ' ἀθ[*..*]

Fr. 3.

[*....νοc[*] μαλέλακ[*μα λέλακ*]  
*νόσοιςιν[*] νόσοιςιν  
*τι[.]εφραζω* [*τι[.]ε φράζω*]  
*..εχεσθε* [ 5 .δέχεσθε  
*'].ει[*]..ει[*..*]  
*..* [ 5 ..]  
*ενέκλει[ά]ν θ[*]  
*..* [ 5 ..]  
*..* [ 5 ..]

**Fr. 1 1** The first is a tailed letter; the last has a small loop on the line and may be *α* [ 5 Of the fifth letter there remains the lower left-hand arc, *c*, *ε*, *θ* possible Perhaps *λημ*, but only the tops remain 6 It might be more correct to write at the beginning *λ* φ is more like *ε*, perhaps because the fibres are displaced 7 μένοι θεῶν possible, but only traces on the line of an upright stroke and an arc remain 8 Or φιλοῦν *ii* Above the right-hand upright of *v* a spot of ink which may be fortuitous 13 Against this line there is a sloping stroke resembling the start of a coronis, of which there may be another trace against the next line, but there is no place for a coronis here 14 τῷ[ι] admissible 16 seq. Aesch. fr. 168 N<sup>2</sup> 16 To the left is a stroke which may belong to the previous column Above α of *ωc* a trace of ink which would suit the lower end of 25 μελιφ[ρονα]θυμον is not excluded

**Fr. 1 2** It is more usual for *χραίνειν* to be employed with a personal subject so that *ξχ]ραίνειν*, *ἀλοιφᾶ[ι]* is probable, but see *Septem* 60-1 *ἀφρὸς χραίνει*.

3 Or *ῆρας* or *ῆρα*.

4 The comparative of *ὑπέροπλος* is not otherwise attested and there is no particular reason why the division in this place should not be *ὑπερ δηλότεροι*.

8 There seems no room for more than *i* between *μ* and *κ*, but no word beginning with *iκει-* seems very likely here. *η* might be squeezed in, but *μηκει* is no more attractive.

16 The quotations of this line in Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1344 and Diog. *Ep.* 34 diverge strangely from each other and from the papyrus. *αἰεν* might be read, but *κ[ινδραι θεα]λ* seems too long for the gap. The 'children of Inachus, the Argive river' are no doubt the streams of Argos. The fountain nymphs, Hippie, Automate, Amymone and Physadeia, though descendants of Inachus, are ordinarily described in their legends as daughters of Danaus.

21 Not *ε[μ]* nor *ε[κ]*.

29 I suppose, 'a husband'.

### 2165. ALCAEUS.

There would be no difficulty in recognizing the authorship of the following fragments, even if there were not found in them two words quoted by ancient authorities as from Alcaeus, and they present us with two among the longest and most nearly consecutive pieces of this poet that have yet been recovered. Neither is without obscurities. Alcaeus, though a straightforward, cannot be called an easy writer,

### 2165. ALCAEUS

31

this copy of the text contains verifiable and may contain unsuspected errors, the lacunae though not so serious as usual are still considerable. But I suppose their general tenor—of much of the detail I can offer no interpretation—to be as follows. In the first, in supplementing which a little help comes from 2166 (c) 6, q.v., Alcaeus, now in exile, appeals to the three gods, to whom the Lesbians dedicated a precinct with an altar apiece,<sup>1</sup> to deliver him and his associates from their misfortunes, recalling how they, and Pittacus among them, once entered into a bond to have no truck with the tyrants—we know the names of Melanchrus and Myrsilus, who is perhaps mentioned here—but either to kill them or die themselves. Pittacus has unconcernedly gone back on his word and Alcaeus calls down vengeance on him. This appears to be in a common convention, so far as our knowledge of Alcaeus' 'stasiotic' vein goes, and is composed in the common Alcaic stanza. The second is more novel both in form, being written in a stanza consisting of two lesser Asclepiads, a Hipponactean and a catalectic Ionic trimeter *a majore*, and in content. In it Alcaeus describes himself as having taken asylum on the farthest bounds of the land in a precinct of Hera, where the beauty contests of Lesbian women are held. Here he lives a yokel's life in solitude, and while sighing for the active life of the city and his ancestral possessions professes to have reconciled himself to a prudent abstention from opposition to those in power.

The papyrus, which has suffered from damp and dirt and is liable to flake, is written in an ill-formed and rather irregular bookhand which I should date in the earlier part of the second century. Some of the lection signs and perhaps the marginal notes may be assigned to the original copyist. Certain additions and alterations appear to be due to a subsequent, though no doubt contemporary, hand, which can sometimes be distinguished by strokes of greater thickness and ink of a slightly different colour.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.  
 ].ρα. ἀτόδελέςβιοι  
 ...].....έγδει. οντεμενο[ν]ι]μεγα  
 .νονικα[...]ccανεδεβώμοις  
 αθανατωμαναρωνέθηκαν . Ζεθηλᾶ  
 5 κάπωνύμασσ. ναντίαονδία  
 σεδαιολήμαν[.]νδαλίμανθέον  
 πάντων γενέθλαν τόνδετέρτον

Col. i.  
 ].ρά. α τόδε Λέςβιοι  
 ...].....εῦδειλον τέμενος μέγα  
 ξύνον κα[τε]ccαν ἐν δὲ βώμοις  
 ἀθανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκαν  
 κάπωνύμασσαν ἀντίαον Δία  
 cε δ' Αἰολήμαν [κ]νδαλίμαν θέον,  
 πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τέρτον

<sup>1</sup> The trinity appears to be the same as that in Sappho 66 (where likewise *Δι'* ἀντ[ι]αον might be the reading), but the occasion of the institution of their worship, if that is what is being described, is not prima facie the same in the two accounts.

τόνδεκέμηλονωνώμα. .[.]ν  
ζόννυσσονωμήσταν· α[.]., εύνοον  
θύμοντεκέθον.., σαμιετ.., α[.]άρας  
ακουσατ' ἐκδετῶ. [.]...., ων  
αργαλέαστεφύγασρ[  
τονύρραονδεπα[.].α.....  
κήρωνε[.]., εώσποταπώμνυμεν  
τόμοντεςά..[.].ν..  
μηδάμαμηδένατώνεται, ων  
αλλ' ήθάνοντεςγάνεπιέμμενοι  
κέισεθ' υπάνδρωνοι, τότ' ἐπικ'. ην.  
ήπειτακάκτανοντεςάντοις  
δᾶ, οὐπέξαχέωνλύεσθαι.  
κήρων, ο, φύγωνουδιεέστατο  
προσθύμοναλλα, βρατάνωσπόσιν  
.ηβαιεπορκίοιςδάπτει  
τανπολινάμμιδέδ[.].[.]., ι. αιε.  
ού, κάννόμον[.].ογ[.].[.][  
γλάνκασα[.].[.].[  
γεγρά[  
μύρσι[  
...].[  
[  
[  
Ξ.].[  
7  
XΞ.].[  
/άχ...[  
/....[  
35 ούδαγτοσδα.[  
κοι, αντε[  
].αι, ειψ[  
.].'[  
θυγα[  
Fr. 2. Col. i.

τόνδε κεμήλιον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν  
Ζόννυσσον ὡμήσταν. ἀ[γ]ιτ', εύνοον  
θύμον σκέθοντες ἀμμετέρα[α] ἄρας  
ἀκούσατ' ἐκ δὲ τῶν[δ]ε μόχθων  
ἄργαλέας τε φύγας ῥ[νέεθε  
τὸν "Υρραον δὲ πα[ιδ]α πεδελθέτω  
κήρων 'Ε[ρίννυ]c ὡς ποτ' ἀπώμνυμεν  
τόμοντες ἀ..[.].ν..  
μηδάμα μηδένα τῶν ἑταίρων  
ἀλλ' ἦ θάνοντες γάν ἐπιέμμενοι  
κέισεθ' υπ' ἄνδρων οἱ τότ' ἐπικ'. ην  
ηπειτα κακτάνοντες αῦτοις  
δάμον ὑπέξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι.  
κήρων ὁ φύσκων οὐ διελέξατο  
πρὸς θύμον ἀλλὰ βραϊδίως πόσιν  
ἔ]μβαις ἐπ' ὄρκίοις δάπτει  
τὰν πόλιν ἄμμι δέδ[.].[.]., ι. αις  
ού κάν νόμον[.].ογ[.].[.][  
γλάνκασα[.].[.].[  
γεγρά[  
Μύρσιλ[ο  
...].[  
[  
[/  
Ξ.].[  
7  
Ξ.].[  
/

## Fr. 1.

Col. ii. Col. ii.

..]ψ[ ..]..  
.]ψ[ ..]ενπελοις.  
.].[ ..]αππέναις  
ου..[ ..]οφρόνην  
5 αν..[ ..]ελε. πάρο,  
πὲρ[.].[.].ενκ. υθυκάτασάτω.  
αῦτο[.].[.].εκαππέτων  
εχέπ[.].[.].ατειχοςβαζιλήρον τοτηηρας  
άγνοις..εβιότοις, ισοτάλαισέγω  
10 ζώωμοιρανεχωνάκροικώτικάν.  
ιμερρωναγόραςάκουσαι  
καρ[.].μέναςώγειλαΐδα  
καιβ[.].αςτάπάτηρκαμπάτεροςπάτηρ  
κα[.].ηρας ἔχοντες πεδὰ τωνδέων  
τών [ά]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν  
ἔγ[.].πυτόυτωνάπελήλαμαι  
φε..ωνεχατ. αις'ως, δόνημακλέης  
..θα. οιοςεόικηςαληκάλιμαίς  
.[.].ον[.].λεμονιστάσιγαρ  
20 προσκρ[.].ουκάμεινονόννέλην  
.].[.].[.].μακαρωνεστέμ[.].νοςθέων  
εοι[.].[.].[.].άνας[α].επιβαίςχθόνος  
χλι[.].[.].[.].νυνόδοις[π]αύταις  
όικημικ[.].κωνέκτοσέχωνποδας.  
25 όππαλ[.].[.].άδεικρινάμεναιφύāν  
πώλεν....ειπεπλοι· πέριδεβρέμει  
άλχωθες, ειάγνηναίκων  
έρα[.].λολύγασενιανσίας  
].[.].[.].απιγόλλωνπόταδηθέοι  
30 ].[.].[.].[.].[.].μπιοι[  
.....

.....

Fr. 2. Col. ii.

.να[	].μεχ	/ .να[	].μεν.
/ αεδα.[	].....	/ γᾱc δα.[	].....
φευγο.[	].δαις	φευγο[	].δαις
ωσιν.[	]	ωc νην.[	]
αμω[	].ιται	αμω[	].ιται
ενκυψ[	].ένων εναγγειος	έν κυψέλαις	].ένων
παυρο[	].σιγαρ	παυρο[	].σι γαρ
. π..[		[ π..[	

Frr. 1+2 Col. i Lines 32-8 and line 39 are on detached pieces of which the vertical position is fixed by a *σείς* and a crease but which may possibly be more widely separated from the main fragment and one another than has been allowed for here. See note on frr. 1+2 col. ii. The position of fr. 2 col. i, supposed to contain the ends of fr. 1 col. i 35-7, is arrived at by reference to the relation inferred below between fr. 2 col. ii and fr. 1 col. ii 32 seqq.

1 ]., the lower part of a slightly curved stroke sloping down from left to right. Above the third letter a trace of ink, but not apparently *ά*. The next letter perhaps intended for *ξ* but not like any other letter in the papyrus. 2 The *ν* was deleted *currente calamo* by the original scribe. 4 The point of the marginal note is obscure. The supposed *ζ* is not satisfactory; *λ* might be a damaged *κ*. 6 *λμ* was first written and *ι* afterwards inserted, it is uncertain whether by the same hand. 10 *cxθ* corrected to *cxθ*. 11 Only the tops of the dotted letters after the bracket. Above *χ* some ink, which if it is a letter may be a small *τ*. 12 The variation commonly found is between *ρν-* and *λν-*. In this place above *ρ* is the bottom left-hand arc of a round letter. 13 The high stop after *φ* may be casual ink or dirt. 14 *εν* written by a different hand over a deletion. 15 *ά* is followed by a spot level with its top and this by the top of a tall upright, *άμρεν* might suit. 18 After *κ* the back of a round letter, then the tops of a stroke sloping down from left to right and an upright. 21 Fr. inc. lib. 109. 24 *]εν[* reconcilable with the traces *ι* followed by the top left-hand corner of *π* or *τ*. *ι* added by a different hand. 25 The ink has run, *ρ* and the vertical stroke which appears to follow it extremely doubtful. 27 ., the foot of an ascending slightly sloping stroke which would suit *π*. The accent is against it, but the accent is itself not altogether certain. 28 seqq. The ink has run, which makes some of the letters very doubtful. 28 Of *λ* only the top, *ρ*, as well as other letters, possible. 33 The traces after *αχ* consistent with *ν*, but it is impossible to verify further whether *αχνας* [δημι κτλ., fr. inc. lib. 26, should be recognized. 34 The first a round letter. 35 The appearance of an accent on *ον* may be illusory.

Frr. 1+2 Col. ii Between the coronis after fr. 1 col. i 32 and that after frr. 1+2 col. ii 32 there are 39 verses. Since there is required a number exactly divisible by four, it must be assumed either that the copyist has omitted at least one verse by mistake (and it is to be observed that fr. 1 col. ii 7 is not the Hipponacteum which should stand in this place) or that one or both of the detached fragments mentioned above should be more widely spaced.

4 Perhaps *οντ[* but neither *η[* nor *τ[*] quite satisfactory. *ϕ* has a horizontal stroke, presumably fortuitous, emerging from the right side of the upper part of the upright. 6 After *ρ* a loop with a spot of ink below it on the line, possibly another *ρ*. Before *εν* a stroke sloping down to the line from left to right. *κεῦθυ* not satisfactory, *ε* looks like *π* *τω* corrected from *το*. 7 ., the top half of an upright. 8 There are two parallel horizontal strokes below the first upright of *π* not accounted for. 9 *λνο*, as a variant of *αγνο*, appears to be meant. The following *ι* has a cross-bar through its centre and a stroke sloping slightly downwards from right to left from its lower end; there is also some ink unaccounted for to the right of its upper end above *ε*. 12 The mark of length in *κα* is slightly tilted and might be taken for an acute accent. Only the top of *ρ* remains, *β* possible. 13 *αc*

is preceded by two lines meeting at an angle which may be the remains of *χ*, *λ*, and similar letters. 14 The third letter looks most like a *κ* made by writing *c* over *ι*; it is followed by what would naturally be taken for the first half of *π* but might be *γ*. *η* is preceded by the bottom half of an upright. Fr. inc. lib. 104. 18 The first letter most like *c* but the papyrus is damaged, *ε* perhaps possible. 19 Of the first letter there remains only a line sloping up left to right, *λ* or *χ* would suit. 20 The vowel after *κρ* most resembles the top left-hand part of a badly made *ο*. 21 *μα* preceded by the tops of two sloping strokes which might belong to *ω* or *μ*. 22 Originally *βας*, *ι* and the short inserted by the first hand. 23 *χλι* is followed by a stroke sloping upwards from the line, e.g. *α*, *δ*, and, after one missing letter, by two converging strokes which might belong to *χ*, *λ*, *μ*. Before [.]*ν* the lower part of an upright *τ* deleted and *μ* superscribed by a later hand. 24 *χ* added above the line by a later hand. 29 This and the following lines have suffered from wet, and the ink has run in places so as to be illegible. Before *α* two uprights with part of a sloping stroke between them, but *v* not very satisfactory. *αγν* doubtful, there appears to be an acute accent on *a*, and one would expect to see part of the left-hand arm of *v*. There is ink not accounted for over the *o* and *ω* of *πόλλων* and the *o* of *πότα*. 30 Possibly *]εκοτεν*, but neither this nor *ολη* verifiable. 32-8 The position of the detached fragment containing the beginnings of these lines is fixed by the correspondence of *έν* *κυψέλαις* with the marginal note *έν άγγελοις*. 32 The superscribed *v* by a later hand. 33 Above *δ* a large comma-like sign. 34 Or *μ[*. 35 ., the bottom part of an upright. 37 *πέν* or *ιέν* not *μέν*.

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 For the word preceding *τόδε* I can suggest nothing better than *Ιαραξτ*, which might refer to the Thessalian river Peneus (see Steph. Byz. in *'Αράξης*), but the accentuation is anomalous, and indeed, whatever the word was, to write the accent on its last syllable is contrary to the usual practice.

2 *ενδελον* is hitherto attested only in the form *ενδελελον*.

5 *άνταος* is not certainly attested elsewhere (see Hesych. in *άνταριαν*). If it means the same as *άνταος* (*Ζεὺς ανταος* Schol. T II. xxii. 113), we have the choice between 'benevolent' and 'malevolent'.

6 Since the *i* is not syllabic *Αἰολίαν* must be a derivative of *Αἰολ-* not of *Αἰολεν-*. The spelling with *η* in this papyrus may well be due to its being earlier than those which spell analogous forms with plain *η* (see *'Αμ.* Introd. liv.).

I find no exact parallel to *πάντων γενέθλαν* 'source from which all spring', though *λαγίναν* . . . *γέννων Αγαμ.* 119, if it means 'the mother hare', may be adduced. Both words more naturally refer to the 'offspring'.

The mode of address seems to imply that the goddess has already been named in the foregoing. I suppose her to be Hera for the reason given in the note on p. 31, though otherwise the description would not be thought particularly apt, cf. *PW* in *Hera* viii. 6 (p. 397).

8 *δεκεμηλον*, which would have a comprehensible structure, is precluded by the accentuation. *κεμηλον*, which is prescribed by it, is inexplicable. Perhaps *τὸν δέ*, in spite of the MS.

12 The variant here seems to be *ειάωτε*. More usually the choice is between *ρν-* and *λν-*, cf. besides l. 20, 1233, 4, 7.

13 Oddly enough, though it was well known in antiquity that Pittacus was *"Υρρα παῖς*, the adjective is always given as *"Υρράδιος*. The expected form *"Υρραος*, regularly reduced to *"Υρραος*, is first found here.

18 I should have confidently expected *ἐπεκρέτηρ*, cf. inc. lib. 28.

23 Cf. D 12, 7 *δαπτέτω πόλων ωc καὶ πεδὰ Μυρελῶ*.

24 Perhaps we should infer from the change of *-αι* to *-αις* that a third person singular parallel to *δάπτει* was converted to a participle parallel to *ἔμβαις*.

Fr. 1 Col. ii 7 The line has a syllable less than lines in the corresponding places.

12 Perhaps *καρυζομένας*, which I suppose would be the Lesbian for *κηρυσσομένης* on the analogy of *πτάζω* for *πτήσσω* (*πτάκ-ιω*), *ἐπι-πλάζω* for *-πλήσσω* (*πλάκ-ιω*).

The accentuation implies δ 'Αγεισλαίδα 'the son of Agesilaides', in which case one must infer that [β.]..*ac* is the genitive of the mother's name and that Alcaeus is saying: 'I, the son of

A. and B.' (am deprived of possessions held by my father and grandfather). But the name of Alcaeus' father seems not to have been known in antiquity. It is not only nowhere recorded but the writer of the lines 'on the nine lyric poets' (Drachmann, *Schol. Pind.* i. 10) who begins ἐννέα τῶν πρώτων λυρικῶν πάτρην γενεῖν τε μάνθανε καὶ πατέρας καὶ διάλεκτον ἄθρει can do no better for Alcaeus than ὁ Μυτιληναῖος μὲν ἔην, γεραρώτερος ἀλλων Ἀλκαῖος πρότερος ἡγυκός Αἰολίδης (or -δος), though he proceeds to give father's and mother's name in the case of Sappho. It is difficult to suppose that Alcaeus anywhere stated as clearly as on this hypothesis he must have done here what the names of his parents were. Perhaps, therefore, we should adopt another interpretation, ὁ Ἀγεσιλαῖδα 'Agesilaidas' (or 'son of Agesilaus') as the addressee, and suppose β[εβαία]..ας parallel to ἀγόρας, say β[εβαία]λλας, 'longing (while I live like a yokel) to hear the summons to meeting and council'.

<sup>14</sup> The finite verb required must be found in the letters at the beginning of this line. I can find nothing better than *καγγεγίρας* (which may have been written *κακγεγίρας*). But there is no evidence for *γέγηρα* instead of *γεγίρακα*, nor, in Lesbian, for the third person plural in -άι instead of -αι.

15 ἀλλαλόκακος unattested, 'who do each other hurt', though this is by no means the usual relation of the two halves of compounds with -κάκος.

<sup>17</sup> We must assume that Onomacles was a legendary figure who lived more or less like Belleroophon πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεῖνω, but there is no other record of him. (For the *Onomacles* of Sophocles, elicited from *Et. Mag.* 207, 16, see Pearson 1125.)

18 Perhaps *οὐος* 'solitary'. There can be little doubt that *λυκαινας* (nominative singular, like *τροπας* for *τραπας*) is the same word that Hesychius has preserved as *λυκαιχλας* with the interpretation ὁ λυκόβροτος, though there would seem to be some perversity in using the comparatively rare *βρότος* to explain the common *αίμα*. On the other hand, if one could conceive *λυκόβροτος* to be Greek, and glossator's Greek, for *λυκάνθρωπος*—and a werewolf might presumably be a type of solitariness—the equivalence of *αίμα* and *βρότος* disappears.

<sup>19</sup> The sense expected is 'It is better not to involve oneself in a quarrel with one stronger than oneself', but *κρέσσοναι* is too long and the letter after *κρ* certainly does not resemble ε.

- - - - for - - - could have been avoided by *ov kēp*

24 Hitherto only the singular *πόδα* has been attested, cf. L. and S. in *πούς*, 6e.  
25 It is known from Schol. A II. ix. 129 that beauty contests between the Lesbian women took place in the 'precinct of Hera'. It has been inferred with some probability from Hesychius, *πυλαιδεες αἱ ἐν κάλλει κρινόμεναι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ νικῶσαι*, that this precinct was in the neighbourhood of Mt. Pylaion (Tümpel, *Philol.* iv (1891), 566-7), the position of which Strabo's words (xiii. 620) do not make clear. *φεύγων ἐχαριτας* and the implication in *μελαίνας ἐπίβας χθόνος* of a journey by water (though not necessarily by sea) may show that it was a considerable distance from Mytilene. Presumably *τειχος βασιληνον*, v. 8, explained in the margin as *τὸ τῆς Ἡρας*, also refers to his place of refuge, but I cannot make out enough of the context to say what the reference is.

Fr. 3

2]  $\mu$   $\nu$   $\rho$  would suit 4-6 Written smaller, presumably omitted in their proper place  
and entered in the lower margin 4  $\kappa$   $\epsilon$   $\phi$   $\lambda$   $\nu$  possible 5 ], the right-hand end of a cross-bar  
touching the top of i After  $\omega$  apparently  $\delta$  and some interlinear ink betw. it and  $\rho$  After  $\kappa$  an apex  
 $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ , &c. 6 Betw.  $\nu$  and  $\eta$  some interlinear ink most resembling  $\pi$  8-9 Remains of a schol.

Fr. 4.	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7
. . .	. .	. .
]. [	π[	]κνα. [
]. [	πρω[	]κυρ. [
]	φώ[	]ένδο[
]arra. [	δέν[	]. ὁ[
5 ]. υφᾶ. [	χει. [	]. ο[
. . .	αλλ. [	.
5 ]α or ]λ	]δ[	.
	φ[	.

Fr. 5.	Fr. 8.	Fr. 9.
]δανν...[	.	.
]ταδ' ἀντω[	]. <sup>c</sup> [	]. <sup>a</sup> [
].άνραγ[	].[	] <sup>μν</sup> [
].νεκ. ωρ[	].αιρ[	] <sup>ως</sup> [
5 ]εθηκαμε[	].[...	].έρι[
].ιᾶνθη[	5 ]. <sup>cθ</sup> [	] <sup>μμ</sup> [
].ονδ'.[	.	.

3 ]., end of a stroke sloping down to the line from left to right,  
μ possible 4 κν, or possibly κτ  
7 Perhaps ]κ Perhaps φ or ω  
12 Interlinear letters

## 2166. SUPPLEMENT TO 1231, 1233, 1234, 1360, 1787, 1789, 2081 (c, d).

In the course of work on volume xviii I have come upon a number of fragments belonging to papyri previously published and put together here those which supplement the texts of Sappho and Alcaeus numbered as above.

(a) 1231.

1.

. . .  
]  
]. oūca[ . ].  
]υριννοι  
. αυταν  
5 ]  
]c' eōcaν  
]λοιса  
. [

2 ]., the right-hand end of a curved stroke descending to the line,  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $c$  possible. After  $\alpha$  ., a small curved stroke,  $\epsilon$ , level with the top of the letters 3 Γ]υριννοι 4 ]., a dot of ink on the line

(b) 1233. 1. i ii 14-19 (= B 10, 7-12)+two new fragments. 2. 3, 16 (= B 17, 8)+a new fragment

ἀλλακαιπολυιδρις  
15 διννᾶενταχεροντ

.]υτωμοχθον  
μελανας  
.]. ταβασομεν  
...ην

16 ᾱντωι 18 ]., a spot of ink above the level of  $\tau$

$\theta\eta$ [ .]υνδωρ

Two syllables are wanted, two narrow letters are all that the gap can take;  $\theta\eta$ [ $\omega$ ]ν seems unavoidable, though it is not necessarily a complete word.

4. 25+a new fragment.

. . .  
]. εμ[

. c[

. εμπ[

5 ]ηπιλαθ[

. ᾱcov[

]

3. 4, 5-7 (= B 5, 5-7)+a new fragment.

οικατευρηανχ[θονα  
παισανερχεсθώ[κυπο]δων  
ρήαδανθρωποι[с

1 ]., the turned-up tail of a letter on the line,  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda$ , and similar letters possible. It is followed by the lower part of  $\epsilon$  or  $c$  3 ]., a spot of ink below the line ., left-hand end of a cross-bar level with the top of  $c$  6 γ possible

## 2166. SUPPLEMENT TO 1231, 1233, 1234, 1360, 1787, 1789, 2081 (c, d) 39

## Unattached fragments (new).

5.

]ό ποθ[  
]τουτοκ[  
]εν[  
. . .

i φ is followed by a spot of ink below the level of the line

. . .  
]. . .  
]. τοσῶ[  
]. εκ[  
]. υκει[  
5 ]. . .  
]. . .

. . .  
]. . .  
]. ω[ι]π[  
]. οι.μ[  
]. . .

2 ., a small upright arc on the line, perhaps  $\alpha$  or  $\epsilon$  3 A spot of ink on the line, perhaps  $\alpha$

8.

i An upright stroke descending below the line, followed by the end of a stroke descending from left to right to the line, ]ρλ would suit . might be the extreme base of the loop of  $\alpha$  3 ., an upright stroke, perhaps  $\iota$  but very likely another  $\kappa$

(c) 1360. 1. Introduction (= D 10-11)+ two new fragments.

3 πραιλάβολον  
κάτιτ[ο]υκήνω  
/ τωῦτ[ο.]ωναίχυντος  
μ[ι]σος  
7 ζευπατερ·λύδοιμενεπα[сχαλαντες .. δο.. επισυμφοραις  
ασχαλαντεςκλυπονμοι

ii ου[δε]ν .

3 For λάβολον compare Hesych. ληβδλε· . .  
άξιε λιθασθῆναι 7 Schol. I cannot read Λιδοι.

1A. 3 (= D 2(a))+a new fragment.

Schol. ]εοικ[ .].ιλη  
].νδορυφ[.]ρων  
].ρ[.].φηα  
].ρεγγαρ

i Πενθίλη now seems ruled out 2 τ]φν δορυφ[δ]ρων

2. 8+29+three new fragments (col. i)+two new fragments (col. ii).

From the run of the fibres it appears fairly certain that the detached fragment containing col. ii is more or less correctly placed, though I cannot say it should not be a little higher or lower.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]	[
], ν ε[	]
]ασπο[..]ν[ .[	]
]. αις δ <sup>ρος</sup> προς[	]
δ <sup>ρων</sup> πρω[	] αρταρος .[ κοσικατα[
5 ] χορτου[	]
τουεμιου[	] τονυμι[.]ρ[ επει, ειε..[
]μαν τουτοπε.[	]
οισατραπαι[	] οδεμυδρος[ ηαμπανελ[
] υποδηματανπεδηζ[	] τουστονυμ[ τησεξ[.]αс.[ καντριχосчи[ κата[
βοειουεντοсθεντιλ[	]
] τραγωδηζсанвтвамфи[	] ηα <sup>п</sup> траговнде <sup>р</sup> ема <sup>п</sup> те[ идоic
τιапонвтвондраконте <sup>р</sup> [	]
] епеиджетерротераз <sup>ж</sup> а[	] ката[
ηа <sup>п</sup> траговнде <sup>р</sup> ема <sup>п</sup> те[	]
10 ]πατηρ	]
ον, ονπατερ[	] ων
. . [ ] τωαсавентο[	]
] 'ανεμωνου[	.
] γ	.
]όμα[ . γμω[[.]][ 15 ]κύθ.[.] οιαιολειсci[ ποлл[.]γλεγο[ [.]απфωка[ ] πантгдесоамои <sup>ж</sup> и[ ]ρисевос[.].γаг....[ ]оноусио <sup>ж</sup> е...[ ]. . .[ ]. . .[	2a. γт...[ пант <sup>ж</sup> и[ ]хл[

Appears to be part of the schol. to the right  
of 2 i 15

Col. i 2 ], the right-hand arc of o or ω 4 ], a spot of ink level with the top of a 9 The end of a stroke sloping downwards to the line from left to right followed by an upright, ]ay would suit 11. The feet of two uprights and a spot on the line near the second, e.g. πα, πλ

Col. ii 3 Schol. [a stroke sloping upwards from the line from left to right, perhaps (*écri*) 8 Of  
it only the top; *n*, *v*, &c., equally possible]

Col. i 6 Schol. It is a reasonable guess that what is being said is something like this: Persian satraps wore purple (?) shoes of cowhide, lined with felt. Such a note would suit a mention in the text of e.g. the ἔμαρις, which Aeschylus, *Persae* 660, attributes to the ghost of Darius or perhaps of ἀσκέρα, πέλλυτρα, ποδεῖα. Cf. Hesiod "Epy. 541-2 πέδιλα βοὸς ἵψι κταμένοι . . . πίλοις ἔντοσθε πυκάσσας.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. *τράγω* δ' ἔδησα νάρω has the air of being a lemma. 'They used the leather from the goat's back (*δρακού* i.q. *τράγου*) because it is stouter.'

<sup>11</sup> Schol. Perhaps οὐ τὸν πατέρ[α . . . | οὐ γ(άρ) ἀνεμος[ | -το ὁς ἀνέντο[ε, but the letters may be combined in other ways.

<sup>15</sup> Schol. Apparently some statement about Lesbian usage. The word following [*Cαπφω*] might begin with *καπτ-*.

Below 15 Schol. I suppose  $\chi\omega$ - $\rho\acute{\iota}\acute{\iota}c$   $\acute{e}v\acute{o}c$ .

Col. ii 3 Τλάρταρος.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. It is tempting to guess that there was a reference in the text to the method of confirming an oath by sinking a mass of iron in the sea, of which Hdt. i. 165 gives a well-known example.

3

.]φο[  
]φύλ[  
]πāο[  
.κα.[  
]άco[  
]μν[  
]δε[

Perhaps the beginnings of lines 3-9 of col. i above 2 .[ , on the line the tip of a stroke sloping upwards to the right,  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  3 Above o remains of two interlinear letters 4 .], a spot of ink level with the top of  $\kappa$  5 .[ the top and bottom of a vertical stroke

**1360** fr. 21 appears to come from the same neighbourhood as the preceding, and so do the following new fragments:

].τ[	]
]μω.[	]αι v:[
]κ[	]καων
.	]νευμ["]cfε[

Perhaps from 2 col. ii on a level with col. i,  
12-14

1 ], on the line the end of a stroke descending to the right, perhaps a 2 . [, a vertical stroke

6. To ( $\equiv D\ 3(a)$ ) + 24 + seven new fragments.

The position of the fragments is fixed by the text printed as 2165, to which reference may be made.

Col. 3

Col. i

ξῡ	]δε[	]χμεγα
κατ̄	]ccα[	]μοις

5       $\alpha\theta\alpha$ [      ] $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha$ [      ] $\kappa\alpha\nu$ .  
        $\kappa\alpha$ [      ] $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha$ [      ] $\alpha\nu$ [ ] $\alpha$ .  
        $\zeta\delta\alpha$ [      ] $\kappa\nu\delta\alpha$ [      ] $\nu\theta$ [      ] $\nu$ [ ] $\iota\omega\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega$   
       ] $\alpha$ [      ] $\tau\epsilon\rho$ [      ] $\nu$   $\alpha^{\gamma}\tau\iota\tau\omega$   
       ] $\omega$ [ ] $\nu\mu\alpha$ [      ] $\kappa\epsilon\mu\iota\lambda\iota\omega\iota\omega\iota\omega$   
 10     ] $\tau\alpha\nu$   $\alpha\gamma$ [      ] $\nu$   
       ] $\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau$ [  
       ] $\nu\delta\epsilon\mu\omega$ [  
       [      ] $\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\lambda\theta$ [  
 15     ] $\tau^{\gamma}\alpha\pi\omega\mu$ [      ] $\mu\epsilon\nu$ [  
       ] $\nu$

1360 fr. 13 (= D 1) might come from the same neighbourhood and likewise the two following fragments:

7.

] $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho$ .[  
 . . . .  
 . [  $\omega$  or  $\omega$

8.

].[  
 ]. $\omega$ [  
 ]. $\nu$ [  
 ]. $\nu\kappa$ [  
 . . . .

1 Perhaps  $\mu$

9. 16+a new fragment.

. . . .  
 ]. $\tau\iota\delta\epsilon\epsilon$ [  
 ]. $\pi\omega\lambda\omega\omega\chi$ [  
 ].  
 5      ]. $\nu\zeta\tau$ [  
       ]. $\mu$ [  
       ].[  
 . . . .

6 Remains of two upright strokes, the first apparently sinuous

10.

].[.][  
 ]. $\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\nu$ [  
 ]. $\mu\epsilon\mu\iota\mu\alpha$ [  
 ]. $\mu\alpha\mu\iota\mu\alpha$ .

5 ]. $\eta\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\nu$ 

]. $\eta\tau\omega$ [  
 ]. $\alpha$ [.]. $\psi\alpha\iota$ [  
 ]. $\nu$

6 Right-hand end of a cross-bar level with  
the top of  $\eta$       7 Top of an upright

12.

]. $\tau\iota$ [  
 ]. $\alpha\nu$ [  
 ]. $\eta\nu$ [  
 ]. $\omega$ [.]. $\beta\epsilon\nu$ [  
 5 ]. $\alpha\tau\iota\delta\omega\iota\omega$ [  
 ]. $\epsilon\phi\beta\alpha\mu$ [  
 . . . .

2 Right-hand end of a cross-bar level with  
the top of  $\alpha$

15.

]. $\mu$ [  
 ]. $\mu$ [  
 ]. $\mu$ [  
 ]. $\nu\beta\epsilon\rho$ [  
 19.      ]. $\eta$ [  
 ]. $\mu$ [  
 ]. $\delta\alpha$ [  
 ]. $\omega\omega\iota$ [  
 ]. $\alpha\mu\tau$ [  
 . . . .

16.

].[.][  
 ]. $\eta\mu$ [  
 ]. $\nu\beta\epsilon\rho$ [  
 ]. $\eta$ [  
 5 ]. $\mu$ [  
 . . . .

17.

]. $c\eta$ [  
 ]. $\epsilon\nu$ [  
 ]. $\eta\tau\iota$ [  
 ]. $a\mu\epsilon$ [  
 ]. $\alpha$ [.]. $\tau\alpha$ [  
 ]. $\nu$ [.].  
 3 Of  $\nu$  only part of  
the shank

18.

]. $a\mu$ [  
 ]. $\eta\tau\iota$ [  
 ]. $a\mu\epsilon$ [  
 ]. $\lambda\iota\nu$ [  
 . . . .

21.	22.	23.	24.	
] $\tau\alpha\iota$ [	] $\psi\alpha\tau\omega$ [	] $\mu$ [	] $\tau\alpha$ [	
] $\tau\omega\tau$ [	] $\mu\epsilon\tau$ [	] $\nu\epsilon$ [	] $\pi\rho\omega$ [	
.	] $\zeta\epsilon$ [	.	] $\alpha\nu\delta$ [	
.	.	.	] $\pi$ [	
2 A tailed letter				
3 The tip of a stroke				
sloping downwards from				
left to right				
25.	26.	27.	28.	29.
] $\epsilon\pi$ [	] $\alpha$ [	]	].[	] $\zeta$ [
] $\alpha\mu\epsilon$ [	] $\mu$ [	] $\nu\delta\epsilon\iota$ [	] $\nu$ [	] $\phi$ [
] $\alpha\col$ [	] $\kappa\alpha$ [	] $\kappa\alpha\tau$ [	] $\hat{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$ [	] $\omega$ [
] $\kappa\alpha\iota$ [	May be the	] $\delta$ [	] $\nu\omega$ [	.
.	bottom of the	.	5 ]. $\nu$ [	3 The bottom
.	column	.	5 ]. $\nu\pi$ [ possible	left-hand curve of $\epsilon$ ,
3 The right-				$\omega$ , or the like
hand tip of a horizontal stroke level				
with the top of $\alpha$				

## (d) 1787 Unattached fragments (new).

1.	2.
]. $\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha$ [	].[
]. $\pi\alpha\chi\omega\alpha$ [	] $\delta\alpha\theta\epsilon$ [
] $\nu\theta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha\theta\mu\epsilon$ [	] $\kappa\kappa\epsilon\delta$ [
] $\alpha\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\theta\mu\epsilon$ [	.
5 ] $\hat{\alpha}\theta\mu\epsilon\alpha\pi\alpha\pi$ [	.
] $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\lambda\pi\alpha\kappa$ [	.
] $\zeta\pi\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha\pi\delta$ [	.
]. $\nu\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\alpha$ [	.

1 ], a slightly sloping upright,  $\nu$ ,  $\tau$ , &c. 2 ], a slightly sloping upright,  $\nu$ , &c. 2 ], apparently the tail of  $\alpha$  with a dot on the line beneath it. Perhaps  $\pi$ . 3 Scattered ink between  $\nu$  and  $\theta$  and between  $\epsilon$  (apparently not  $\epsilon$ ) and  $\delta$ . 5  $\alpha\beta\theta\mu$  and  $\pi\alpha\theta\mu$  indicated. 7  $\epsilon$  or possibly  $\delta$ . 8 ], a slightly sloping upright, bottom tip of a similar stroke

## 2166. SUPPLEMENT TO 1231, 1233, 1234, 1360, 1787, 1789, 2081 (c, d) 45

(e) 1789. 1. 111-3 (= A 5, 5-7) + a new fragment. 2. 9, 3 seq. (= A 12, 3 seq.) + a new fragment.

3 ].. $\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha$ [  
]. .... [.....]ac φ<sup>k</sup> .. μη  
τ[ ]]  
[ ]χ..φαλ...  
.

3 ], two dots one above the other, probably the ends of the upper and lower branches of  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ . Of the next letter only an upright stroke remains,  $\gamma$  more probable than  $\epsilon$  or  $\tau$ .

## 3. 13 (= A 8(a)) + a new fragment.

]. $\tau\dot{\alpha}.\nu\nu\mu\alpha$ [  
] $\alpha\tau\eta\rho\pi\rho\pi\theta\alpha$ [  
] $\lambda\alpha\chi\eta\pi$ .  
.

1 ],  $\nu$  or  $\nu$  Between  $\alpha$  and  $\nu$  traces on the line suitable to  $\nu$ ; on the edge of the papyrus above, a dot, perhaps indicating a variant

## Unattached fragments (new)

4.	5.	6.	7.
]. $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\omega$ [	] $\alpha$ [	] $\epsilon\pi\theta$ [	] $\beta$ [
] $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\theta\hat{\mu}\mu$ [	] $\kappa\alpha\tau$ [	] $\kappa\eta\lambda$ [	] $\pi\pi\omega\pi$ [
] $\omega\pi\tau\alpha\chi\eta\alpha\pi\pi$ [	] $\alpha\pi\gamma\alpha$ [	] $\mu\omega$ [	].[
] $\nu\eta\tau\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi$ [	.	.	.
5 ] $\zeta\tau\hat{\alpha}\epsilon\delta\epsilon\pi\pi\pi\pi$ [	.	.	.
]. $\delta\iota\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi$ [	.	.	.
]. $\tau\pi\pi$ [	.	.	.
]. $\pi\pi\pi$ [	.	.	.

Perhaps from the right-hand side of fr. 1 ii 11 seqq. (= A 6, 17 seqq.) 1 ] $\kappa$ , ] $\lambda$ ? 2 Of  $\alpha$  only part of the right-hand stroke 4 ], a slightly curved upright stroke with an angle at the bottom, not  $\nu$ , possibly  $\alpha$ . 5 Or ] $\epsilon$ . 6 The accent doubtful. Of  $\nu$  only the left-hand tip 7 two dots one above the other 7 .,  $\alpha$  or  $\theta$  8 .,  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ , or  $\delta$

8.

[κων  
]υλον  
λύόντον. [ν γε  
]. ται ολαβων  
5 ]ν. δειπη. [

9.

]αν  
]. βασι. [

<sup>2</sup> Of ν only the extreme tip of the right-hand arm, χ would be a possible alternative. Perhaps α might be read for λ <sup>3</sup> δ]γόντον ν( )<sup>4</sup> δ]ν(τι τοῦ) δγέ[τωσαν? <sup>4</sup> ], the tip of an upright <sup>5</sup> ., perhaps o with another letter above it

2167. CALLIMACHUS, *Αἰτίων ἀ*

To the four fragments of a second-century roll published in P.O. 2079 and P.S.I. 1217 A six more are to be added. One joins 2079 fr. 1, 14-21, so that those verses now run:

15 ]ιπνγμαιωνηδομένη[. ]ερα[  
]γεται[.]αιμακρονοιστενοιεπανδρα[  
]. α.[ ]δωδεμελιχρ[.]τεραι.  
]σολοονγενο[.]άνθιδετεχη[  
]ωπερσιδιτη[.]σοφιην.  
]τεμεγαθοφεουςαναιδην  
20 ]νουκεμον[....]διος  
]επρ[.]τιστονεμοισεπιδελτονεθηκα κτλ.

All that is gained here is ὁδε μελιχροτεραι and the final abolition of δ' in l. 20. Two others are too ruinous for anything to be made of them. The remaining three are more useful and in conjunction with 2168 enable the reconstruction of the beginning of the *Aitia* proposed in *Hermes*, lxx. 31 seqq. to be carried a step further. Two of them combine with P.S.I. 1217 A, fr. 1, though none quite touch one another, to form a piece containing parts of two columns, of which the left-hand is continued downwards, at an interval not precisely determinable but (assuming a 40-line column) not greater than nine lines and perhaps no greater than one, by P.S.I. 1217 A, fr. 2, the right-hand provides an anchorage for the ancient quotation (Call. fr. 104) referring to the fortunes of one of the bands of Colchians sent to pursue the Argonauts, which is thus fixed at a maximum interval of fifteen lines from the last line of P.S.I. 1217 A, fr. 2. The account of what happened to the other band may reasonably be conjectured to have begun with the οι δέ of 2167 fr. 2 ii 7; it clearly ended with the verses preserved in 2168 v. 'But this was to happen hereafter'; in the last of our fragments complemented by 2168 r., at an interval calculable from one of the Berlin fragments as about twenty-five lines, the narrative is back at what a comparison with Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* i. 395 seqq. shows to be the very beginning of the story, the departure from Pagasae. 2079 fr. 2 and P. Gen. 97 are still unplaced.

Fr. 2.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
 ].]  
 ]εκολλητι.  
 ].]  
 ].]  
 ].o.[ ]cαι  
 5 ]τατελε[ ]  
 ]εσανεψον[.....]κ..π..  
 ]ςηλθετ[...]ο[ ]  
 ]εκαιαιολαβε[ ]ματια  
 ιγωιδαιεναλιφα[.]ερει β[.]υχων  
 10 ]γοιςι[.]ενικηψα[...]λιπως[ ]  
 ]ιπουλυμενως[.]μετος[ ]  
 ]υρος..φ[ ]ιδι..ει[ ]  
 ].cata[ ]c[ ]  
 ].εγαρα[ ]

Col. ii.

.[  
 c.[  
 o.[  
 λα[  
 αξ[  
 γρ[  
 φιδ[  
 ].

5

2167. CALLIMACHUS, AITION A

49

Fr. 2.

Col. i.

].]  
 ]ε κόλλητι  
 ].]  
 ].]

].o.[

]cαι

5 ]τατελε[ ]  
 ]ες ἀνείμον[ες ὡς ἀπό] κόλπου  
 μητρὸς Ἐλειθυνή]ς ηλθετ[ε β]ο[υλομένης  
 ἐν δὲ Πάρωι κάλλη τ]ε καὶ αἰόλα βε[νδε' ἔχουσαι  
 ἀπ' ὁστλί]γγων δ' αἰὲν ἄλειφα ρέει.  
 10 ἔλλατε νῦν ἐλέ]γοισι δ' ἐνυψήσαθε λιπώς[ας  
 χεῖρας ἵνα μο]ι πουλὺ μένως[ν] ἔτος.

]υρος..φ[....]ιδι.λει[  
 ].cata[ ]c  
 ].εγαρα[ ]

Col. ii.

.[  
 c.[  
 οἱ [μὲν ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ πόρου σχάσσαντες ἐρετμά  
 λᾶ[α παρὰ ξανθῆς Ἀρμονίης ὄφιος  
 5 ἀς[τυρον ἐκτίσσαντο, τό κεν Φυγάδων τις ἐνίσποι  
 Γρ[αικός, ἀτάρ κείνων γλῶς] ὀνόμηνε Πόλας.  
 οἱ δ[

Fr. 2 Col. i 8 Schol. ιμάτια 9 Schol. β[οστρ]ύχων 12 Perhaps δι[.]  
 Col. ii 3-6 Call. fr. 104

Fr. 3.

[νδαριδαι]	Tυ[νδαριδαι]
[σδιαπρωτονικ[.]ντο]	]ε διὰ πρῶτον ἵκ[ο]ντο
[υσητ.σαπα[.],νατο..]	[υσητ.σαπα[.]ανατογς]
[.ρασευστειρ[....].ελέ[.]ο[.]·]	[.ρας ευστειρ[....].ελέ[.]ο[.]·]
5 [].νόνκέαραισονίδης	[].ν ὅν κέαρ Αἰσονίδης
[ταζενήιεπολλαδαπείλει]	[ταζεν, 'Ιήμε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπείλει
[μψεινπολλαδεσορτυγιην]	ἐς Πινθώ πέ]μψειν πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὁρτυγίην
[θαλοεσσαναπηρανησελασση]	εἴ κεν ἀμιχ]θαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἡέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσης
[.οτιςηφοιβεκαταισιμην]	[. ὅτι σὴν, Φοιβε, κατ' αἰσιμήν
10 [ελυξαγ·εκ[.]ηρώσαντοδερετμα	[ελυξαν ἐκ[λ]ηρώσαντο δ' ἐρετμά
[.ανδωρ]	πικρὸν ἔκο]ψαν υδωρ.
[μονεμ[	ἔπωνυ]μον Ἐμ[βασίοιο

**Fr. 3** 3 Between τ and ε the ink seems to suit nothing but ε; between α and α only π or ν possible 4 δ or γα Before ελέ the horizontal top of a letter Perhaps some two-letter combinations are not too much for the gaps before and after ]ο[ 7 Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 418-19 8 Call. fr. an. 345 9 ., the tail of a stroke descending from the left 10 πείσματα νηὸς ἐλυσαν *Argon.* i. 652 12 Call. fr. 545 b (*Ακτίου* and *νηὸν*) somewhere in this neighbourhood, cf. *Argon.* i. 404

3 ἀ[θ]ανάτονες 9 One of the interpretations of αἰσιμήν regularly offered by the lexica is μαντεία, no doubt the meaning here 10 Cf. also Suid. in *αἴθνα*

Fr. 4.

ν...τ[	[λθα[.]ρευνποδα[
μ[.]δε[	[.].ιοννο[.].[.]
]δε[	[.].τασχοροσευτρ[
]δε[	[.].[.]σαγους[
5 [.].ατρ[	5 ]τιπαθωννο[
τησδέκ[	αρκοταναμ[
[..].πτε[	]μοτεπτ[
.[	[.].πατροι[
.	]ταιφ..ενο[
10 [.].[.]..ε[	[.].αρη..[.]
.	].διδα..[

Fr. 5.

[λθα[.]ρευνποδα[	[.].ιοννο[.].[.]
[.].τασχοροσευτρ[	[.].[.]σαγους[
5 ]τιπαθωννο[	5 ]τιπαθωννο[
αρκοταναμ[	αρκοταναμ[
]μοτεπτ[	]μοτεπτ[
[.].πατροι[	[.].πατροι[
]ταιφ..ενο[	]ταιφ..ενο[
10 [.].[.]..ε[	[.].[.]..ε[
[.].αρη..[.]	[.].αρη..[.]
].διδα..[	].διδα..[

## 2167. CALLIMACHUS, AITIΩΝ A

[...ειςμ[	[.].]αν[
15 ].ημεν[	[...αντυγαδ[
[.ακμοσιη[	[.ης[
20 ].[.]α...[	[..[

**Fr. 4** 1 might be the first verse of the column, but only the edge of the papyrus above it is preserved Midway between ν and τ is an upright seqq. These lines begin to the left of 1-2 by about the width of a letter 5 Or τε[ 7 ε is followed by the left-hand arc of ε or a similar letter, ε[κ]επτερ possible

**Fr. 5** 1 There are traces of ink above the second letter θ looks more like ε Above α traces compatible with a breathing, but whether ε.g. δ[ε]ρεν or δ[η]ρεν cannot be determined 2 Before τ a slanting stroke which would suit δ, λ, κ 4 Two vertical strokes followed at an interval by a slanting stroke which might be the tail of α, λ, δ 5 A trace of ink resembling ' between θ and φ may be fortuitous 6 Only the tail of φ remains 9 φ is followed by the top of a slanting stroke which might be α, and this by the tops of two strokes which may belong to μ 10 The ink before ε might be interpreted as εμ or possibly εαμ 11 The seventh letter is represented by the top part of a heavy stroke descending from left to right, e.g. δ, the ninth by an arc on the line, ε or like letters 15 The letter after ν had a horizontal cross-bar, but τ does not suit 16 Of the third letter the bottom left-hand arc remains, ε or the like, of the following φ only the extreme tip of the tail 17 ε]π' ακμοσιη 'Ηφ[αλτοιο, as in hy. iii. 48, could be made of it, but is not strongly suggested

## 2168. CALLIMACHUS, ΑΙΤΙΩΝ α

The small fragment which follows is a piece of the Berlin-Florence codex, which has already given us lines from the *Hecale* (P.S.I. ii. 133), *Μέλη* (S. Ber. Pr. Akad. 1912, 524) and *Αἴτια* (ibid. 1914, 222), but its contents supplement those of 2079, P.S.I. 1217 A, and the preceding number. Since the column is known from one of the Berlin fragments to be of about 37 lines it is easily calculated that some thirty verses are missing between lines 7-8. Cf. 2167 introduction.

Verso.

[...].[...]...	[...].[...]...
φαιηκωνεγενον[	Φαιήκων ἐγένοντο
ἐε[.δηγωνετεροι[...].[.]..[	ἐεμὸν ἄγων ἐτέροις ε[.].[.]..[
έκτ[ε]ισεκ[δ]ρ[.].ραίνονεδεθλιον·ενθ[	έκτισε Κερκ[υ]ραῖον ἐδέθλιον, ἐνθ[εν
5 στάντεσαμ[.]ντηγράνδ[	στάντεσαμ[.]ντηγράνδ[

και τὰ μὲν ὁ[σ]ημελλε μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι  
[...].[  
• . . . .  
Recto.  
]. [.] [  
] αντότερέτμα  
10 ] πικρογέκοφανύδωρ·  
]. επωνυμονεμβασίου  
] ... εν.. παγα[.] αῖς·  
] . ρηνα  
] . του·  
• . . . .

καὶ τὰ μὲν ὁ[σ]ημελλε μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι  
[...].[  
• . . . .  
]. [.] [  
] ἐκληρώς] αντό τ' ἐρετμά  
] πικρὸν ἔκοφαν ὕδωρ.  
] .. ἐπώνυμον Ἐμβασίου  
] ... εν.. Παγα[.] αῖς  
] . ρηνα  
] . του.

<sup>1</sup> ] αρψ[.] αφψ[ seem to be among the possible readings    3 <sup>4</sup> very probable, but ψ looks more like ν. The last visible letter has a tail like ρ or φ.    4 The two cancelling strokes in this line, as well as the other letters and signs in a different fount, are not in the same ink or hand as the rest.    5 crā might perhaps be read but would be no more correct. After αμ[.] only apices visible; these suit Call. fr. 259    6 Call. fr. 212    8 seqq. 2167 fr. 3, 9 seqq. I cannot determine to what letters αἰαμίην the ink corresponds    11 Call. fr. 545 b (Ἀκτίον and νηδόν) may be supposed to have occurred hereabouts    12 Before εν possibly κ, or υ, after it possibly αι    13 I cannot make it κάρηνα

<sup>2</sup> seqq. See 2167 Introd. For the settlement in Corcyra of Colchians and later of Corinthians led by the Bacchiad Chersocrates, see Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* iv. 1210–16 with the scholia.

<sup>6</sup> If read and supplemented correctly, identical with Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 1309 (where the schol. says Καλλυμάχον δι στίχος) but corresponding in this position with iv. 1216 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν στείχοντος ἀδην αἰώνος ἐτύχθη.

#### 2169. CALLIMACHUS, *Aἴτιων* γ

The roll, from which the strip here described was torn in antiquity that the verso might be used for an account,<sup>1</sup> must have been when complete more imposing than the ordinary, being written in a bold upright uncial of the ‘biblical’ type resembling 661 but larger than it, attributable to the later part of the second century. What with the breadth of the top margin and the size of the writing, relatively little of the text is preserved and not much could be made of it, but it enables us to establish the connexion between three already known fragments and to recognize with certainty the story of Heracles and Molorchus, which is reasonably conjectured to have occurred in the third book of the *Aἴτια*. It is now apparent that the speech which begins at

<sup>1</sup> This runs: λογ(ος) ταος | δεκατω | φξη Λ' | νγωμον | νι | αλ(λος) μετρω δεκατ(ω) | τνς Λ' | αλ(λος) νγωμον | Σοα | γι(νεται) υγ / λ Φαρμον(ι) | μετ(ρω) δεκατω | τλα | γνωμον | χπζ

#### 2169. CALLIMACHUS, *AITIΩΝ* Γ

1. 3 of P. Berol. 11629 A (Pfeiffer, *Callimachi fragmenta nuper reperta*, no. 6) is the answer given to Molorchus by Heracles after his return from the slaughter of the Nemean lion. After a gap, which may be calculated on the basis of P. Berol. 13417 A (Pfeiffer, no. 1) to have contained eighteen or twenty verses, the hero is still (or again) speaking, though he may be simply reporting a prophecy of Athena. There are slight indications which make it allowable to guess that he ends at l. 11 of our fragment. At any rate he has ended and the poet resumed his narrative at l. 14. It is evident that the speech was in part concerned with the first founding of the Nemean games. In the subsequent narrative the gift of the mule is an addition to what was hitherto known of the story from [Probus] in Verg. *Georg.* iii. 19 (Callimachus, fr. 6) and other sources.

(καὶ μιν Ἄλητιάδαι πουλὺ γεγειώτερον)  
(τοῦδε παρ' Αἴγαιων θεῶι τελέοντες ἀγῶνα)  
(θήσουσιν νίκης σύμβολον Ἰσθμιάδος)  
ζήλωι τῶν Νεμέηθε, πίτυν δ' ἀ[ποτιμήσουσιν  
ἢ πρὶν ἀγωνιστᾶ]ς ἔστεφε το[ὺς] Ἐφύρηι.  
] ητε τεοί, γέρ[ον,  
] ουδ' ιερὴ π.[  
] σεμοι προμ[  
] ον Παλλὰς ἔ[  
] αρενωι τοδ[  
] ήνκατεπω[  
] ιυτεμολόρ[  
] θυμοναρε[  
] θψιμμενατ[  
] λήγαθ' υπος[  
] ρῆματενδέ[  
] νουδαματ[  
] πελοπη[  
] εσχονανα[  
] εετησανός[  
] παισινανα[  
]  
• . . . .

5 ] θε· πίτυνδ' α[  
] ιέστεφετο[  
] ιητετεοίγερ[  
] ουδ' ιερηπ.[  
] σεμοι προμ[  
] ον Παλλὰς ἔ[  
] αρενωι τοδ[  
] ήνκατεπω[  
] ιυτεμολόρ[  
] θυμοναρε[  
] θψιμμενατ[  
] λήγαθ' υπος[  
] ρῆματενδέ[  
] νουδαματ[  
] πελοπη[  
] εσχονανα[  
] εετησανός[  
] παισινανα[  
]  
• . . . .

10 ] ητε τεοί, γέρ[ον,  
] ουδ' ιερὴ π.[  
] σεμοι προμ[  
] ον Παλλὰς ἔ[  
] αρενωι τοδ[  
] ήνκατεπω[  
] ιυτεμολόρ[  
] θυμοναρε[  
] θψιμμενατ[  
] λήγαθ' υπος[  
] ρῆματενδέ[  
] νουδαματ[  
] πελοπη[  
] εσχονανα[  
] εετησανός[  
] παισινανα[  
]  
• . . . .

15 ] ητε τεοί, γέρ[ον,  
] ουδὲ ξενοδόκωι] λήγαθ' υπος[χεινής,  
πέμψε δέ οι τὸν δ]ρῆα, τίεν δέ[έ] ως ἔνα πηῶν.  
νῦν δ' ἔθ' ] ν οὐδαμὰ π[αναρμένην  
]  
• . . . .

20 ] ητε τεοί, γέρ[ον,  
] ουδὲ ξενοδόκωι] λήγαθ' υπος[χεινής,  
]  
• . . . .

<sup>1</sup> seqq. Call. fr. 103    7 .[ left-hand side of a curved letter, ο or the like    13 ], an upright, <sup>2</sup> or <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> seqq. P. Berol. 11629 A 6 seqq. (= B)    14 ννκτα B, suppl. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff    15 -δόκου B, em. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff    16 οιτρ[ν]ο[ B    17 .]. νδεθ...[ B, suppl. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff    18 ]., top of a rounded letter, ε or the like    After

<sup>19</sup> the tip of a middle horizontal stroke not compatible with *q*. There are remains of the beginning and end of this verse in B but not sufficiently legible to be used for a supplement. The first letter may have been *v*, the second *y* or *r* followed by an apostrophe, but the surface is damaged and the present appearance of the ink deceptive.

<sup>9</sup> For Athena's role cf. P. Berol. 11629 A, l. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps *εἶναι κατ' ἐπωνυμίην*. Then, since the accent prescribes *Μολόρχου* or *-ωι* in l. 12, the speech will have ended here.

13 Possibly ἀρε[скόμενος or [ссáмевнос

<sup>16</sup> The margin of B has the explanation *τὸν ὄντος*, which is delusive.

17 B schol.  $\tau(ov)\tau(\acute{e}ctiv)$   $aι\omega[\nuiov]$ .

2170. CALLIMACHUS, *Aitíowv ð*

It might have been difficult to assign an author to these scraps, if the identity of the hand with that of P.S.I. 1218 did not direct one to Callimachus and the Milan *Διηγήσεις* furnish a lemma of which part is to be recognized as recurring here. Fr. 2 is thus discovered to contain the end of the *aἴτιον* relating to Leimone and the beginning of that relating to Artemis and the boastful hunter in Book IV of the *Aἴτια*. Nothing more is assured, but it is worth while to consider certain possibilities with regard to the contents of fr. 1. According to P. Mediol. 18, col. iii 12, the *aἴτιον* preceding the Leimone *aἴτιον* begins with the line *νεκταρος ι[.....]. ν. υθιονυγενοσηραπεδο[*. The fourth and fifth lines of P.S.I. 1218 (c) end respectively with *]γλυκιον γενοσηρα.* [ and *]σαμβροσιης*. In spite of the discrepancy between the *Διηγήσεις* and P.S.I. 1218 in the letters preceding *ιογενο-*—a discrepancy that may be explained either by the presence of a variant or by the corruption frequently manifested in other places of the *Διηγήσεις*—it seems to me highly improbable that we ought not to combine these data and recognize the single couplet *νεκταρος[.....]γλυκιονγενοσηραπεδο[* | *]σαμβροσιης*. The *aἴτιον* of which this is then the beginning relates, as the scholia on Ovid, *Ibis* 465, show more clearly than the *Διηγήσεις*, which are here defective, to the human sacrifice offered to Apollo by the Tyrrhenians for their victory over the Liparaeans, and though our fr. 1 preserves too little for it to be possible to say that this story is recorded there the occurrence of *λιπαρον* and *τυρρηνον* in lines 12 and 13 and *ιεροσειφουβον* in line 17 is consistent with it. Line 4 of the fragment is marked by a paragraphus as the beginning of an *aἴτιον*, which, if it is the *aἴτιον* we are supposing, should begin with *νεκταρος* and does begin with a word containing *ον* and very probably *ρον* in the right position. On the strength of these indications, therefore, I suggest that our fr. 1 and P.S.I. 1218 (c) contain the opposite ends of lines in the same column as follows:

]. [ ] ... [	]. ε .. [
<u>сη..[.]τ[...]</u> φ[	]ανδριδεσειταλαιαι
φθ[...].νται[	]υφαν[αν]ιστοριαι
]ροσα[	νγλυκιονυγενοσηραπ[εδο

5	κ[.].δονηδύ[ υ...γαιανεδ[ νειςθεδιαγλω[ δειλαιοιτύ[ χει..cavayλ[ 10 ανδροσανουν[ ω.[.]μιαννης[ κτλ.	]σαμβροσιης ].αιτερπινισταταπα[ ]κεοσοσσαπερα .ιεπιπ.ονησονα[ ]π.ραναινομενου ]ζεπετασέν[.].[
---	--	--

I see nothing which excludes the possibility of this juxtaposition. *φθέγγονται*, for instance, would stand suitably at the beginning of l. 3, and ll. 6 seqq. might have run *ἵμεας γαῖ* ἀνέδωκε, τὰ καὶ τερπνίστατα πάντων νείσθε διὰ γλώσσαν γλεύκεος ὅσσα πέρα. *δεῖλαιοι*, *τυτθόν μιν ἐπὶ πλέον η̄ ὅσον ἄκρον χεῖλος κτλ.* In l. 10, likewise, *ἀν' οὐν* would suit *ἐπέτασσε*. But however this may be, we now have evidence that in the fourth book (and I hope at some later time to produce similar evidence for the third book) of the *Aἴτια* the separate *άίτια* followed each other abruptly without transition and were in no way designed to form a coherent whole. This would, no doubt, have been the natural inference to draw from the *Διηγήσεις* but not the only inference possible.

Fr. 1.	Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.
]. [ . ] ... [	. . .	]. υρτοσέ[
] η . [ . τ [ . . . ] φ [	.. [	] ν . ε . [ . ] .. μ . [
] φθ [ . . . ]. νται [	πατρο . [	] ωςεπαλινπυριδ . [
] ροσφ [	δακρυσας . [	] νερημηδεευγαξυλι . [
5 ] κ [ . ]. δονηδην [	αιαικαιμαλ [	5 ] ανουγαραπευθεατεχν [ . ]. [
] ν . . . γαιαινεδ [	καικουρητα [	] μοστουτονέχειν [ . . ]. [
] νειςθεδιαιγλω . [	. ] ειπαντε [	] ουσαδακεινκυ . [ . ]. 'α [
] δειλαιοιτην [	αρτεμιса [	] εωνεντιсε . [
] χει . . . санагъ [	. . .	]. . . . . . . τραγου [ . ]. [
10 ] ανδρосаионуи [	10 ] . . . са . . . . . λιπаоик [	
] ω . [ . ] μιαиηс . [	]. ^ ποιμηтici [	
] оик . [ . ]. аслитра [	]. . [ . ] ν . [ . . . ] с . . [	
] тицс . ти [	]. γδ [ . ]. [	
] . λυθагънп [	]. . [ . ]. [	
15 ] поллагтодек . [	. . . . . . . . . . .	
] φ . [ . ] арапотр [		
] иеросеифоибо . [		
] ёнгмогбенвас . [		

] <i>τουτο</i> εγεί[	Fr. 4.
20 ] <i>στεπτημν</i> [	. . . .
. ]. <i>ιεδιογπροτ</i> [	. . . .
.	. . . .
.	. . . .
5 ] <i>μ.ου</i> [	. . . .
] <i>μ.ο.κεατου</i> [	. . . .
] <i>πυρκαιης</i> [	. . . .
] <i>ναμακεδηη</i> [	. . . .
] <i>νανει</i> [	. . . .
] <i>αλλ.ναμ</i> [	. . . .

**Fr. 1** 3] or ]ω 4 Of ]ρ only the upright 5 κ[.] or χ[.] 6 The ink looks to me most like νμερος or possibly -ας 7 Of ε only the left-hand upper curve, of ο only the lower curve of the back ζ[possible 9 χειλος reconcilable with the traces, which resemble the base of ω, but not suggested by them. Or κ[ 11 αρη[ or αε[ only a curved stroke level with the top of ω being left 12 οικηςας or οικιζας seems probable. Of φ[ the end of the loop 14 γη[ possible 16 φ is followed by a vertical stroke and this by obscure traces, φη[ possible 17 λ[ a spot of ink on the edge above the level of ο, reconcilable with the tip of the left arm of ν 18 λ[ perhaps the left-hand side of the loop of α 19 More like γε than τε 21 Apparently θη[ic, but λη[ may not be excluded

**Fr. 2** 1 A slightly sloping upright followed at an interval by the tip of a tailed letter below the level of the line    2 Not ος    3 Ι, a slightly sloping upright stroke    7 Fr. ap. P. Med. 18 iii 34  
θεοὶ πάντες κόμποις γενεσίνων ἐκ δέ τα πάρτων.

**Fr. 3** 1 Of  $\psi$  only the lower ends    2 Perhaps  $[\lambda\alpha\mu, \delta\alpha\mu]$  or  $[\alpha\lambda\mu$     4  $\kappa\rho\nu$  possible but not strongly suggested, perhaps  $[\delta\nu$     5 There is a thin vertical line between  $\epsilon$  and  $\chi$  which I have supposed fortuitous, but  $\epsilon\chi$  is not excluded    At the end the left-hand bottom part of  $a, o$     7 The right-hand end of a cross-stroke touches the top of  $\sigma$     After  $\kappa\nu$  what might be the top left curve of  $c$     After  $[.]$  a horizontal stroke, followed by the top of a vertical stroke, perhaps  $i$     8  $[,$  the feet of two vertical strokes    10 After  $ce$  some interlinear ink    11 Perhaps  $[\lambda\gamma\mu$

**Fr. 4** 1  $\varrho$  seems below the level of the rest. The last letter is either  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$  2 Of  $\varrho$ , only the right-hand arc. It is followed by  $\nu$  or  $\lambda$ . 3 Before  $\epsilon$  the horizontal bar of  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$ . After  $\circ$  the bottom of an upright on the line,  $v$  among the possibilities 9 Between  $\lambda$  and  $v$  the bottom left-hand arc of  $\pi$  or  $\sigma$ .

2171. CALLIMACHUS. *Ephodes.*

From the invaluable Milan διηγήσεις we learnt that the following four poems came together in the collected works of Callimachus: (A) εἰς (οὐ γάρ;) ἡμέων, παῖς Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ, (B) ὁ ξεῖνης, συμβουλὴ γάρ ἐν τι τῶν ἴρων, (C) Ἀλεον ὁ Ζεύς, ἀ τέχνα δὲ Φειδία, (D) Ἐρυἄς ὁ Περφεραῖος. Αἴνινα θεός.

The first of these has been recognized in P. Oxy. 1011 at fol. 4r, 206 (see *Hermes*, lxix. 172) and breaks off incomplete at the bottom of fol. 5r. It is now further possible to recognize the end of this piece, considerable parts of the next two,<sup>1</sup> and the opening of the fourth in a papyrus divided between Florence and Oxford and published in

<sup>1</sup> The end of A and beginning of B now also in P. Ryl. 485.

P.S.I. 1216 and in the following pages. The ends of the last lines of A occupy P.S.I. 1216 col. i 1-11; opposite the final verse the scribe has put two long horizontal strokes in the right-hand margin, presumably to mark the close of the section containing pieces in pure choliambi. There follow epodes. The first of them, B (consisting of alternate choliambic trimeters and iambic dimeters and written in a conventional Ionic), begins as Professor Maas conjectured at P.S.I. 1216 col. i 12, and continues to col. ii '78', sixty-eight verses in all,<sup>1</sup> the right-hand portions of some of them now to be read in fr. 2 col. i (presumably corresponding to P.S.I. 1216 col. ii '64-'73) and probably in fr. 1 of 2171. C (alternate iambic trimeters<sup>2</sup> and ithyphallics in a conventional Doric) begins at P.S.I. 1216 col. ii '79',<sup>3</sup> continues through our fr. 2 col. ii, and ends, after a gap of 9 lines, in fr. 3 at l. 5, altogether sixty-two verses. D (in the same metre and a dialect in which Doric and Aeolic characteristics are blended) occupies the remainder of fr. 3. Some of the other fragments (4 i, which may contain numbers and measurements, 5, which may contain a mention of gold) may well belong to C, but I cannot be sure of their position.

The argument of C is thus summarized in the *Διηγήσεις*: γνωρίμωι αὐτοῦ ἀποπλέοντι κατὰ θέαν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς εἰς Ἡλιν διηγεῖται μῆκος ὑψος πλάτος βάσεως θρόνου ὑποποδίουν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὅση ἡ δαπάνη δημιουργὸν δὲ Φειδίαν Χαρμίδον Ἀθηναῖον, and it is not difficult to recognize the whereabouts in our fragments of some of the subdivisions of the subject. At fr. 2 col. ii 2 the dimensions of the *βάσις* are given, *πλάτος* first; at 8 follow those of the *θρόνος*, first *μῆκος* then *εὖρος*; at 16 those of the statue itself, *μῆκος* first; at 24 the cost and in the first lines of fr. 3 the name of the sculptor, of his country, and of his father. But in detail I cannot make much of the piece, even when, as in the case of the *βάσις*, the facts are already known from elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The argument of D, of which the part preserved in fr. 3 just overlaps with the part preserved in P. Oxy. 661, is likewise supplied by the Διηγήσεις. The relevant words may be repeated: *Περφεραῖος Ἐρμῆς ἐν Αἴνωι τῇ πόλει τῆς Θράικης τυμάται ἐντεῦθεν. Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐδημιούργησεν Ἐρμῆν δὲ οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς ἐνεγένετο κατέευρεν.*

The Florentine editors assign the hand to the first century A.D. I should prefer the second. The scribe of the text inserted a few lection signs, but the majority are not original, though no doubt contemporary or nearly so, and are distinguishable by being written in a duller and more watery ink.

<sup>1</sup> Which by a slight error the Florentine editors have reduced to sixty-seven. The verse they number '15' must be odd and in fact either the third or fifth of the piece. The facsimile shows there is more than one line missing between 12 and '15', there must therefore be three.

<sup>2</sup> I believe I am right in saying that throughout the epodes these end in  $\circ - \circ -$ , never in  $-- \circ -$ , except 'Epuâvoc ððcw, fr. 82a.

<sup>3</sup> The Florentine editors' suggestion that this line was 'Αλεῖος ὁ Ζεὺς is clearly right, but there is another emendation to make in the enumeration. There are only twenty-one, not twenty-two lines from the beginning of this poem to the bottom of P.S.I. 1216 col. ii. The ithyphallic, fr. 2 col. I, must be an even number.

<sup>4</sup> The figures given in some ancient authors (Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen z. Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, nos. 732, 734, 736-8) are too vaguely applied and too discrepant to be of use.

Fr. 1.

. . . . .

]. αι. ετας[ . ελαγοσχελύναν [

]. ειτωπίβαθροντωθρογ[

]. ενεπλάτυνται. [

]. δ[.]ειρᾶνπεντε..[.]ρ[ ].[

5] ...τ[.]δεξεὶθυ [

...]. τετράδωραταν[ ].[

....]αιπαλάσται. [

...]. προκη..[ .λυδιεργεσδ'ώπιθ'ώγιογ.ρ[.]τα[

]ταλαν .άνωκαθηται. [

]π. ρήκουςα[ .μεντριςεστομακρο[.]ιδ[.].[

. μικατιμδεσεμρος [

.....]γν[.....]εε[...]μ[

.....]δετοιμ[

....]. ακ[.]. αδοσε[.]. ίκοιτ[.].[

15] αχν..κ'ελο[.].c αυτοσδόδαιμωνπ.ν[.].[.].εφεδ[

Fr. 2. Col. i.

. . . . .

πάχεεςιμάσσων

. ετ. ι.. νίκαχη.εδιεδν[.]

. ειτελει..[.] [

20] η. εκηπ[.].[.]αταιδ[ παρθενοιγαρώραι. [

τανοργυδιανόσσονουδε.α[.].[.]

5] μη[.]ονεινεπας[.]γα[.] φάγτιμειονεκτεῦν. [

]. αιχα..μ.ζεων τ[.]δ'ωναναισίμωμαλιχνοςεσσι[

]. πολ..[.]c..[.] 25] τόμευπυθέσθαι

.....]μεν[.]ν[.]δγιστον'ονδ[.]ε[.] [

]. εετεχρυνο[

10] .a[ .....].[....].[.].[.] 9 verses lost.

Fr. 3.

]. π[ ]ωθεδης'οφιδ[

]. αθαν[.]

40] .[.].[.].δ'οφιδίαπατ[

Fr. 2. Col. ii.

. c λαγὸς χελύναν.

καὶ τώπιβαθρον τὰ θρόν[ω

.]. εν ἐπλάτυνται

..]. δ[.]ειρᾶν πέντε ..[.]ρ[ ].[

5] ...π[.]δ' ἐс ιθύ,

....]. τετράδωρα ταν[ ].[

....]αι παλασται.

.] Δυδιεργὲς δ' ὁ "πι θῶγιον βρ[έ]τα[с

..άνω κάθηται

10] .ι μὲν τρὶς ἐс τὸ μακρὸν ιδ[.].[

].ικατιν δ' ἐс εῦρος

.....]γν[.....]εε[...]μ[

.....]δετοιμ[

....]. ακ[..].ταῖος ε[.].ίκοιτ[.].[

15] αχν..κ' ελο[.].c αὐτὸς δ' δ δαιμων πέντ[.]τ[.]εφεδρ[

παχέεσσι μάσσων

.].ιτεῖ δὲ νίκα χη.ε δίс δν.[

....].ει τελει..[.]

20] .η. εκηπ[.].[.]αταιδ[ παρθένοι γάρ Ωραι

τὰν δργνιαίαν ὄσσον οὐδεπας[.].[

φαντι μειονεκτεῦν.

τ[ό] δ' ὁν ἀναισίμωμα, λίχνος ἔσσι [γάρ

25] καὶ] τό μεν πυθέσθαι,

.....]μ[.].μὲν [ο]ύ [λ]ογιστὸν οὐδ[.].ε[

.....] ἐс τε χρυσόν[ν

.....].[....].[.].[.] 9 verses lost.

Fr. 3.

]. ωθεδης' δ Φειδ[ιαс

]. Αθανα[.]

40] .[.].[.].δ' δ Φειδία πατ[ήρ

(5) .....]*απεχν*  
.....]*ρφεραῖοςαινίωνθέος*  
.....]*ηγαιχμα*  
.....]*άρεργον ποτέκτον*[  
45 .....][\*]*νηρ* [  
(10) .....]*παρνογαδ*[  
].*πται*.  
]*όιβα*[.].*ά*....[  
]..[  
50 ] [  
(15) ].*ηντοκαποτη*[  
].*μα...α* [  
]*οσκαμα*[.]*δροζα*[.]*ρ*[  
]*ξαέρρας* [

**Fr. 1** 1]  $\tau$  possible 2 Above the second letter a jumble in two inks which might be taken as, e.g., ' superseded by ' 7 After  $\kappa\eta$  a tailed letter, but there is something against each of  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\phi$

**Fr. 2** Col. i 4 Of  $\pi$  only the feet of the uprights remain,  $\alpha$  might be  $\lambda$ ,  $\epsilon$  might be  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ , part of  $\omega$  6  $\chi\alpha\mu\gamma$  not impossible  $\mu\kappa\epsilon\omega\omega$  seems too little,  $\mu\kappa\epsilon\omega\omega$  too much 8  $\pi\omega\lambda\tau$  rather than  $\pi\omega\lambda\tau$  10]  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$

Col. ii 1 Only a speck of the first letter,  $\omega\kappa$  not suggested 2 Same remark,  $\kappa\omega$  possible, no more 4 Apparently  $\xi\hat{\nu}\rho\alpha\nu$  1st hd. corrected to  $\xi\hat{\nu}\rho\bar{a}\nu$  2nd hd., or  $\rho$  might perhaps be read  $\tau$ .[.] or  $\pi$ .[.] 8 The remains of  $\beta$  slight and not altogether satisfactory 10 Or  $\tau\delta$ .[ 11 It is not certain that  $\epsilon\kappa\cdot$  was not written 14 Before  $\alpha\kappa$  the top of an upright  $\tau\alpha\kappa$  or  $\chi\alpha\kappa$  Before  $\iota\kappa$  what looks like the tip of the upper right-hand stroke of  $\kappa$ , but perhaps  $\epsilon\xi\iota$  15 Presumably part of  $\pi\hat{\alpha}\chi\omega\kappa$  Possibly  $\iota\kappa$  Or  $\lambda\epsilon$  18  $\chi\hat{\eta}\rho$  perhaps possible, hardly  $\chi\hat{\eta}\rho\iota$ , the traces suggest  $\chi\hat{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$  19 Possibly  $\omega\rho$ [ 20  $\eta\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\eta\pi\epsilon$  24 Call. fr. 98 d

**Fr. 3** 6 Call. fr. 117 16  $\tau\alpha$ ,  $\gamma\alpha$  17 = 661, 3 18 The top of the presumed  $\xi$  has disappeared without trace

(5) .....]*ἀπέρχεν*  
]*Ἐρμᾶς δ Περφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός,*  
 $\epsilon\mu\mu\tau\omega\phi$ ]*ηγαιχμα*  
.....]*πάρεργον ἵπποτέκτον*[  
45 .....]*γάρ* [ $\omega$ ]*νηρ*  
(10) .....]*κέπαρνον αιδ*, [  
].*πται*.  
]*οι βα*[.].*ά*....[  
]..[  
50 ] [  
(15) ].*ηντο καποτη*[  
].*μα...α* [  
]*ο Σκάμα*[ $\nu$ ]*δρος ἀ*[ $\gamma$ ]*ρ*[*ιωμένος*  
]*ξαέρρας* [

**Fr. 2** Col. ii and **Fr. 3** 2 I am by no means sure that the end of this line is not contained in fr. 5, ]  $\tau\omega\chi\rho\delta$ [*ciov*. The measurements of the 'pedestal of the throne' (now of plain limestone) are 6·65 m. breadth, 9·93 m. length, 1·09 m. height (Curtius, *Olympia*, ii. 14). If *ἐπλάτυνται* (or conceivably *ἐπελά*) means 'is broad', 'has a breadth of', an expression for 30 feet presumably follows.

5  $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\iota\theta\omega$  appears to express a dimension, but which particular dimension is expressed by 'in a straight line'?

8 Several ways might be devised of mentioning what is evidently referred to here, the throne on which the figure sits, e.g.  $\tau\delta\Lambda.\omega\pi\theta.\beta.\varsigma\delta\mu\prime\alpha\omega\kappa$ , or  $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\omega\kappa$ , but there is not room for  $\tau\omega$  much less for the longer supplements. (I have written  $\omega\pi$  for clearness, but there is no warrant for it in Callimachus papyri. It is really a 'crasis' not a 'prodelision').

11 Liddell and Scott give no evidence for the Doric form with  $\nu$ , but cf. Hesych. in *Ικάντιν*.

18 A *Nikη* stood on Zeus' right palm, but, if this be she, she seems to be allotted a disproportionately large number of lines. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether 'hand' was written.

21 'For the maiden Seasons say that the six-foot one comes not a . . . short', a strange way of saying that some one does not fall short of six feet, but the alternative possible translations are no more attractive.  $\omega\delta\delta\pi\alpha\varsigma\delta\alpha\omega$  suggests itself, which Aristophanes uses (*Ecl. 284*) to mean 'not a stiver' and Callimachus might, I suppose, use to mean 'not an inch', but I cannot recognize it in the traces.

40 If *Χαρμᾶς* was written, it could not be verified.

41 'I have told you all. Go your ways', but *ἀπέρχεν* cannot be verified.

43 Cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 930 with the scholia.



]. ποδωρλοὶ μοσεπέλθη κατάρατος αρπαξ.  
 ] φτριζεμό .χ. μει[.] λέιτ .σαποκεντράποιτο.  
 ]. πε .ης πέ .αχλ .ρηγβ .ανηνέμ . . . .  
 5 ]. ι .[.] ετ .ρ[.] της δεμελές θω .[.] δεκαι προπατην  
 ]. ρδ .κ[.] υc[.] θινομαρτεύν .ετ[.] νυαρεστιν  
 ]. οι πατροθεντω γαποδα .τε[.] το δε προστεκουςης  
 ]. λαπίθηνα[ . . . . δ .κειομ .[.] ευγένει[.] ν .  
 ]. το[.] δέφ[.] νδ .ιδω .νέπαλτ[.] ύμος.  
 ]. ιοιτε[.] .[.] ε[.] λοφενυλη[.] τοθι πρωτον .φθης.  
 10 ]. έωνδ[.] μωρεγγυθιδα φης κατακλώνα πηξας.  
 ]. ίνι' α[.] αξ. ουν[.] μαγα[.] τοι το δεγγω καταρχω.  
 ]. ονεια[.] τυς εδε .φις απέβης εδηλουν.  
 ]. [ . . . . . . . .] ατιμά .μεταδα .[.] σαλλον  
 ]. γυμω[.] ονολυμη[.] ιυθιοει[.] ηον  
 15 ]. ιουσο .[.] λήτωρ .[.] εξεφο[.] β .[  
 ]. ατ' α .κτ .νιερηγενέθλην  
 ]. ρις εξει  
 ]. αστηρ  
 ]. αρης μ .  
 ]. π .  
 ]. αιδη .[  
 ]. ναι —

]. ποδων λοιμὸς ἐπέλθη κατάρατος ἄρπαξ,  
 ] φτριζεμό .χ. μει[.] λέιτας ἀπό κεν τράποιτο  
 ]. πε .ης πέ .α χλωρὴν βοτάνην νέμ . . . .  
 5 ]. ι .[.] ετ .ρ[.] της δε μελέθω .[.] δε καὶ προπάππων  
 ]. ρδ .κ[.] υc[.] θιν ομαρτεύν .έτ[εδ]ν γάρ ἔστιν  
 ]. ξοι πατρόθεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιτε[ω], τὸ δὲ πρὸς τεκούσης  
 ]. Λαπίθην α[ . . . . δ .κειομ .[.] ευγένει[ο]ν.  
 ]. το[.] δέφ[.] νδ .ιδω .ἀνέπαλτ[ο θ]υμός  
 ]. ιοι τέμ[ε]ν[ο]ς καλόδι ἐν ὑλῃ τόθι πρῶτον ὕφθης  
 10 ]. έων Δ[ιδύ]μων ἐγγύθι δάφνης κατὰ κλῶνα πήξας.  
 Δελφ[.] ίνι' δ[ν]αξ, οῦν[ο]μα γά[ρ] τοι τόδ' ἐγώ κατάρχω,  
 ]. ον εἰς δ[ε]γγων σε δελφίς ἀπ' ἔβης Δήλου,  
 ]. [ . . . . . . . .] α τιμᾶ μεταδα .[.] σ ἄλλον  
 ]. γυμω[.] ον Όλύμπ[ο]ν θυόν[τα] νηόν  
 15 ]. ιουσο .[.] λήτωρ .[.] εξεφο[.] β .[  
 ]. ατ' ἀγάκτων ιερὴν γενέθλην  
 ]. ρις ἔξει  
 ]. αστηρ  
 ]. αρης μ .  
 ]. π .  
 ]. αιδη .[  
 ]. ναι .

in that. But we are not otherwise informed that the cattle were affected, and the subjunctive here suggests that this plague is still in the future.

<sup>2</sup> Metrical and lexical considerations strongly suggest δ[λ]είτ. but α does not fill the room.

<sup>3</sup> may refer to Apollo's having first seen Branchus pasturing goats (*αλγας ἐνεμε*, Longus iv. 17), but in the woods (schol. Stat. *Theb.* viii. 198 and v. 9 below), which does not favour πίσα here.

<sup>6</sup> ή γενεή]. Branchus is usually made out to be of Delphian extraction on his father's, Milesian on his mother's side (Conon narr. 33, Varro ap. schol. Stat. *Theb.* l.c.); schol. Stat. *Theb.* iii. 479 states that he was a Thessalian. Callimachus makes him Delphian by his father, Thessalian by his mother. Daetas was the father of Machaereus, the Delphian who killed Neoptolemus (Asclepiades ap. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 62), Machaereus an ancestor of Branchus (Strabo ix. 421).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Conon narr. 33 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν . . . Ἀπόλλων εὐρών ποιμανόντα ἐνθα βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Φιληγείλον θύρυται. δὲ Βράγχος ἐπίπονος μαντικῆς γεγονὼς ἐν Διδύμοις . . . ἔχρα and schol. Stat. *Theb.* viii. 198 hic cum in siluis Apollinem osculatus fuisse . . . accepta corona uirgaque uaticinari coepit.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. ίλαθι and, l. 12, οῦνεκα Μιλήτου. This explanation of Apollo's title of Delphinios is new. See, for example, *H. Hom.* iii. 494-5, *Et. Mag.* 255, 17, Plut. *de soll. anim.* 36, for the usual account in which Apollo is the dolphin. Apollo Delphinios at Miletus, Diog. Laert. i. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps τετραπόδων. The plague elsewhere associated with Branchus is said to have attacked the Milesians and to have been cured as Callimachus describes in 'his Iambi' (P.O. 1011, 224; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 359 Stähl.), and τρις in this place may have the same reference as δίς ή τρίς

## 2173. CALLIMACHUS

The following fragment from the beginning both of a poem and a roll is readily assignable to its author, since short as it is four known quotations from Callimachus occur in it. One of them, the first line of the piece, was conjectured by Hecker to be the beginning of the *Sosibi uictoria* (Schneider, Callim. ii. 445), but it cannot be said that this view receives support either from the fragments of the *Sosibi uictoria* in 1793, which show that that poem celebrated an Isthmian no less than a Nemean victory, or from the lines now published. The interpretation of these is, to be sure, not altogether obvious, and what they seem, as much as anything, to say—that when the Greeks under Agamemnon came to Troy their arrival was rapidly announced to Helen, who was engaged in weaving—has no great relevance to Nemea, with which a different expedition, that of the Seven, is connected. But taking warning by Schneider, who supposed v. 1 to be words of Heracles from the first book of the *Aitia* and v. 16 to be from the *Iouc ἄφεξις*, I renounce all guesses about their provenance or interpretation.

The MS. is written in a hand of a common type (cf. 1376), usually assigned to the late second century, of which it is not a very favourable specimen. The original hand appears to have added some of the lection signs, others and the corrections are due to a different hand or, at any rate, a thinner pen.

ζῆντεκα[	Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέη τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφεῖλω,
γύμφᾶκα[	νύμφα κα[
ημ[.]τερο[	ἡμ[ε]τερο[
ἄρμοδηγαρ[	άρμοι γὰρ [Δαναῶν γῆς τάπο βουγενέας
5 εισελενη[	εἰς Ἐλένη[
ποιμένα[	ποιμένα[
ευφητία[	Εὐφητηϊά[
ἔθρεξαντρο[	ἔθρεξαν προ[
ἀσθματιχλι[	ἀσθματι χλι[ , ἀλλὰ θεόντων
10 ωςανεμων[	ώς ἀνέμων [οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἀματροχίας.
ημενδηπο[	ή μὲν δὴ πο[
καιπαροσαργέ[	καὶ πάρος Ἀργεΐ[
καιρώτωντε[	καιρωτὸν τε[
κολχίδεσηνειλω[	Κολχίδες ἡ Νείλωι[
15 λεπταλέουςέξυαρ[	λεπταλέους ἔξυαρ[
...[.]ιφάλιοντ[.].[	εἰδ[ν]αι φαλὶον τ[α]ῦρον ἵηλεμίσαι
....]υκωνοτε[	....]υκων ὅτε[
.....]υκομα[	.....]υ κομα[
....]..[.].[	...]..[.

## 2173. CALLIMACHUS

1 Call. fr. 193 3 .[,] a dot on the line 4 Call. fr. 230 7 τι 1st hd., i converted into η, i superscribed 2nd hd. 9 Call. fr. 135 11 Or πε[, ?πρ[ 14 η seems to have been converted from ει by 1st hd. Over i (νει) is a horizontal mark, not an accent 16 Call. fr. 176 18 ]ο, ?]ε

4 ἄρμοι: for the ancient theory which accounts for the writing with a smooth breathing, see *Et. Mag.* 144, 55. The restoration depends on Hesychius (*βουγενέων τῶν μελισσῶν*. Καλλίμαχος ἄρμενοι γὰρ Δανάοις γῆς ἐπὶ γενέας) and the *Et. Mag.* (ἄρμοι γὰρ Δαναῶν (δᾶσιν D) γῆ ὡς ἀπὸ βουγενέως (D, om. ν cett., νέως Et. Gen. A)). The evidence is ambiguous as regards Δαναῶν or -ῶν, ἐπὶ or ἀπὸ, but I should say unequivocal as regards βουγενέας. If we accept 'bees' as the correct rendering, it may be that the Greek (Δαναῶν, or Argive, Δαναῶν, γῆς ἄπο) warriors were so designated as being avengers of unchastity (Plut. *caus. nat. tr.* G. Longlius xxxvi), or the bees may be mentioned as a portent of the arrival of strangers (*σειρήν μὲν φύλον ἀγγέλλει ξένων δὲ μέλισσα*). This is to assume that Ἐλένη is the personal name. But both βουγενέας and Ἐλένη are susceptible of other interpretations.

7 Euphates, Professor Pfeiffer pointed out to me, is the name given in Hypothesis c of the Nemeans and the scholia on Clement of Alexandria's *προτρηπτικός* to the father of Opheltes-Archemorus, in whose honour the Nemean games were founded. The only other holder of the name, Hom. *Il.* xv. 532, appears to have no relevance.

9 Cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 244 χλιῆναι νοτεροῖς ἀσθμασιν ὥκν γόνι.

10 καιρωτοί 'woven on the loom'. I understand: Helen was weaving a web such as is woven by Colchian or Egyptian women (who dwell by the Nile and mourn for Apis). For the connexion between Colchians and Egyptians, and particularly their methods of weaving, see *Hdt.* ii. 104-5 and *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* iv. 376 (= Call. fr. 265).

15 ἔξυαρ appears to be got from Hom. *Il.* xiv. 179 where ἔξυς is explained: ἐκέρκισεν ξύοντι γὰρ τὴν κρόκην πρὸς τὸ πυκνωθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐλέανεν, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ξύλων. οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔγναψε μετά τὸ ὑφανθῆναι.

16 φαλιόν is prescribed by [Arcadius] 41, 4.

## 2174-5. HIPPONAX, "Ιαμβοί.

The only portion of a continuous text of Hipponax hitherto recovered was the single fragment from a late second-century roll published in P.S.I. x. 1089. More considerable remains of a second and a third roll now appear in this and the following number but it cannot be said that even these greatly enrich our knowledge either of this writer's subjects or his treatment of them. It is allowable to recognize in 2174 fr. 5, 6, 8, 9, the title and some of the details of a 'Return of Odysseus'—seaweed, after a snack questions about family, Phaeacians, the lotus, perhaps a dreadful giant, an auger, embers, not to mention more problematical indications—to which the extant fr. 21 Knox and 91 Knox (in which κῶς παρὰ Κρυψῶν ήλθε might be conjectured, *Kρυψώ* by way of jest for *Καλυψώ*) may also be related. Fr. 66 Knox, if not from the same piece, seems to be of a similar character. But most of the new matter, as of the old, seems, where a guess about the contents can be made at all, to consist of scenes from contemporary low life. On the other hand, what can be ascertained from this source about the metre and dialect of Hipponax is not insignificant. Knox's rule, that the ending of a line in two genuinely disyllabic words is prohibited (though the quadrissyllabic ending is the commonest of all), is completely vindicated, but in other respects restrictions are now seen to be fewer than had been imagined or inferred. There is not only no objection to an ending in five longs (2174 11 i 10, 16 ii 17, 2175 3, 22 and 23), but none to a word-end before

the last three of them (2175 1, 13). Again, the statement of Heliodorus that iambi and choliambi are mixed up together in the same piece is confirmed by 2175 3, 11. Resolution is not very common but is found both in the first and in subsequent feet, in the first at 2174 24, 13 and perhaps 8, 4; 9, 6; 12, 1, later in the line at 2175 2, 1 and perhaps 2, 9.

On the question of the metrical lengthening before mute and liquid of a vowel short by nature the evidence of the new texts is unequivocal. Lengthening is never pretermitted, though it should be added there is only one apparent instance of initial position (2175 1, 6; two of quasi-composition,  $\eta\tau\epsilon$  κράδη 2174 24, 7, κατὰ κνίσην 2175 4, 14). Such datives plural as occur all have the long form except  $\tauοῖς$  (which there are grounds for expecting) and  $\kappaδ]ποῖς$  (2174 24, 5), which I believe to be misread.

2174 is written in a small neat rounded hand which may be ascribed to the earlier part of the second century, 2175 in a hand of the common angular type usually dated late second or early third.

#### 2174. HIPPONAX, "Ιαμβοι"

	Fr. 1.	Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. i.	Col. ii.
				] $\phiυcān$	$wc[$
				] $\phiυcηciç$	$ημ.[$
				$a\nu\delta[$	
				$\tau a\rho\rho[$	
5				$\phi e\rho o[$	
				$\gamma rυ\zeta oñc.[$	
				$\kappa a\rho \theta e o i c[$	
				$\tau \eta c μ \eta \tau p[$	
				] $\tau u \phi l o n p[$	
10				$\kappa a i \chi a l o n [$	
				$\omega \theta \eta \nu i k[$	
				] $e p' \dot{\eta} i c e \pi[$	
				$\dot{\epsilon} c t \eta c a .[$	

<sup>2</sup> Left side of a rounded letter,  $\epsilon[$  or the like with a superscribed  $c$

<sup>4</sup> Above the first  $\rho$  traces of ink, compatible e.g.

<sup>6</sup> Left side of  $\epsilon[$  or  $\eta[$

<sup>11</sup> A dot opposite the end of the upper arm of  $\kappa$ ,

possibly  $v[$

<sup>13</sup>  $\tau[$ ,  $\nu[$ ,  $\chi[$ , or the like

#### 2174. HIPPONAX, IAMBOI

<sup>11</sup> Athenis son of Archermus and brother of Bupalus, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 11, &c.

<sup>12</sup> So apparently  $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\psi\hat{a}\tau'$   $\omega\epsilon$  at fr. 9, 16 but  $]e\psi\alpha\theta'$   $\dot{\eta}$  fr. 12, 3,  $\epsilon\dot{\rho}\epsilon\theta'$   $\dot{\eta}$  fr. 16, 5.

#### Fr. 2.

] $\lambda..λ.[$   
] $\alpha\rho\eta\lambda\theta[$   
] $\epsilon.[$

The appearance of the papyrus is perhaps compatible with a position on the right of fr. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The letters after the presumed lambdas both begin with upright strokes

#### Fr. 3.

] $\kappa\kappa[$   
 $\times \kappa[$   
 $\epsilon.[$   
 $\epsilon\lambda.[$   
5  $\epsilon\gamma.'[$   
 $\lambda\epsilon[$   
 $\alpha\pi[$   
 $\epsilon\epsilon.[$   
 $\lambda\nu[$   
10  $\omega\tau[$

The appearance of this fragment is such that it is justifiable to suppose that it continues fr. 1 col. ii downwards, but there seems to be a small gap between them.

<sup>2</sup> The  $\times$  is partly obliterated but cannot be read as a stichometrical letter  $\lambda$ , a stroke rising from the line from left to right,  $\lambda$  or the like. <sup>5</sup> The traces of the left-hand side of a curved letter,  $\epsilon[$ ,  $\eta[$ ,  $\omega[$  <sup>8</sup>  $\epsilon[$ , a small loop off the line,  $\epsilon[$ ,  $\eta[$  or  $\omega[$ ,  $\rho[$  appear to be among the possibilities

#### Fr. 4.

]. $\nu\lambda[$   
]. $\nu\pi[$   
] $\mu\iota\xi..[$   
] $\epsilon\gamma\omega\delta\epsilon[$   
5 ] $\epsilon\nu\tau..c.[$   
] $\phi\omega\iota\tau\omega\delta[$

.έδοικ' α[  
]κεινοξδ[  
]κδ.ωc.[  
10 ]άγρωξ[  
]ισανμ.[  
.].].[

The written side of this fragment very much resembles in appearance the written side of fr. 3, but the backs are quite different.

1 The ink has run; ., a dot on the line followed by a roundish blot, perhaps ].φ or ].ψ 2 ., parts of two strokes meeting at a right angle off the line, followed by the right-hand side of a curved letter, perhaps ]πω or ]τρ, ., a spot of ink on the line 3 .., a small curved stroke off the line, possibly φ, ε, followed by an apex, δ[ rather than λ[ 4 ., an upright, part of γ or the like 5 Before ε an upright preceded by a dot on the line, after ε an upright, more probably part of γ or the like than ι, but της perhaps possible 7 ., the tail of a letter like λ, not apparently δ 9 Apparently not κ, but followed by a letter like λ, of which the extreme tip of the tail is alone preserved ., a dot above the line 11 Betw. the tops of ι and ε a dot which seems to be fortuitous ., the left-hand curve of ε, ο, or the like 12 ., a line sloping downwards from left to right followed by a dot above the line, perhaps ]λι[ or ]δι[ but ]ατ[ not excluded ]., a horizontal stroke off the line and a dot below its left end on the line

Fr. 5.

[  
]  
—ΟΔΥ[  
]  
.  
ω[  
]  
.

ΟΔΥ[CCE  
]  
.  
ω[  
].

1 Of the γ only the extreme left-hand tip 2 The base-line of a letter like δ, ζ 3 Of φ only the central apex 4 A stroke sloping upwards from line-level, left to right

Fr. 6.

]ωλην.[  
].ζωνφυκι[  
].ναυτονοστιc.  
]επειτονψωμο[  
5 ].ρευσιτηγέν.[  
]

]ωλην.[  
].ζων φυκι[  
].ν αντὸν ὅστιc.  
]ἐπεὶ τὸν ψωμό[ν  
]ερεῦσι τὴν γενή[ν

1 Of φ only the right-hand side, φ also possible The presumed dots on either side of the accent barely preserved λ might be δ, if the base line be supposed rubbed away 2 The diagonal and base of ζ represented by disconnected dots 3 ., a spot of ink on the line consistent with φ ., part of a curved stroke, ε or the like

5 Cf. II. vii. 128.

Fr. 7.

[  
επ[  
...[  
κεφ[  
5 κίν.[  
αυτ[  
.ζ.[  
.

1 A stroke slanting upwards from left to right, λ or α 2 ., the bottom part of the left-hand curve of ε, ο, or a similar letter 3 Tops of three letters, the second perhaps ρ or β 4 A fibre has gone with some of the ink, but ε is more suitable than ο 5 ., a dot on the line compatible with α or δ 7 ., a round letter, ε, ο, or the like

Fr. 8.

.ψοι[  
].αιγκας[  
]επλοωσεγ[  
].ειοσωπερβογ[  
5 ].τοφρενώληστ[  
]θενδιδαξων[  
]οκορξιππ[  
]λψκρονκ[  
].της[  
10 ].ενειδ[  
]αλλατ[  
.

.ψοι[  
]Φαίγκας[  
]επλοωσεν[  
].ειοσ ὠςπερ βον[  
].τοφρενώλης τ[  
]θεν διδάξων[  
]ο κορξιππ[  
]λψκρον κ[  
].της[  
]ενειδ[  
]αλλατ[  
.

1 ]γ possible, γ[ not verifiable, ? fr. 91 Knox 4 Only a speck of the first letter, ]α one possibility The upper part of ι is rubbed away, but τ not probable 5 ., the extreme right-hand tip of a stroke level with the cross-bar of τ, possibly ]τ or ]γ 6 π [or γ] 8 An interlinear letter or sign The first three letters rubbed; λ might be φ and κ perhaps χ 9 ., a round letter, c, o, ε,

followed by what now resembles *i* but that there are traces of ink to the right of it and it is rather far from *τ* to *[*, the upper part of a sloping stroke, perhaps *α*[<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> No verb is known of which this could be a form. *πεντεπλάσω*, which might theoretically exist, would have to be the first word of the line and does not therefore suit the space here.

<sup>7</sup> *κορσίπων* is explained by Hesychius as *ρίζα τις ἡ νόμιμα παρ' Αἴγυπτοις τὸ κέρσαῖον λεγόμενον*. It has been changed with some plausibility into *κόρσιον*, which is the usual name given to the edible part of the lotus (Theophr. *H.P.* iv. 8, 9-11). But the alteration may be unnecessary, for a reference to the *Λωτοφάγοι* would not appear to be out of place in this context.

<sup>8</sup> *θα]λυκρόν* does not account for the interlinear ink before *λ*.

Fr. 9.

] <i>δετ</i> [	] <i>ε δετ</i> [
] <i>τιτο</i> [	] <i>τιτο</i> [
] <i>ομβρ</i> [	] <i>ομβρ</i> [
] <i>εινογι</i> [	] <i>εινος γι</i> [
5 <i>ωσπερτραγω</i> [	] <i>ωσπερ τραγω</i> [
] <i>πέᾶτικαιμιν</i> [	] <i>δ]πέατι και μιν</i> [
] <i>σπερκικωνα</i> [	] <i>. σπερ Kίκωνα</i> [
] <i>εδυσφημειτ..α.</i> [	] <i>.εδυσφημειτ..α.</i> [
] <i>ασμαρίληνανθρ</i> [	] <i>ας μαρίλην ἀνθρ[άκων</i>
10 <i>...]σκ[.ιπυρουκεερχ.</i> [	] <i>...]σ δεκ[.]ι πύρ οὐκ ἐερχ.</i> [
] <i>θέρινηνεκαβιρ</i> [	] <i>ἀ]θερίνην ἐς Καβιρ</i> [
<i>τον</i> [..] <i>ριώναμηνακα</i> [	<i>τον</i> [..] <i>ριώνα μῆνα κα</i> [
] <i>λθωνδεο..ονσυκ..</i> [	] <i>ἐ]λθὼν δ' ἐς ο..ον συκ..</i> [
<i>καιτωκιμάιωιτον</i> [	<i>καὶ τῶι κιμαίωι τοι</i> [
15 <i>επιπτυναστρικαιτ</i> [	] <i>ἐπιπτύνας τρὶς καὶ τ</i> [
] <i>π', νεδεψάτ' ως.</i> [	] <i>π' φν ἐδεψάτ' ως.</i> [
] <i>νδ' ε..</i> [	] <i>ν δ' ἐ..</i> [
] <i>[</i>	] <i>[</i>

<sup>6</sup> Or *v*[, which perh. suits the space better    <sup>7</sup> *ω* possible but not suggested by the traces    <sup>8</sup> *τε* possible, but only specks of the dotted letters remain    <sup>9</sup> Cf. Hippoanax fr. 39 Knox  
<sup>10</sup> After *χ* the left-hand side of a curved letter, *ε*, *ο*, or the like    <sup>11</sup> To the left of *ρ* between the lines the end of a horizontal stroke    <sup>12</sup> After *ο* the middle of an upright; of the succeeding letter nothing but a speck well below the line    After *κ* the top of a letter which may have been *a*, but does not resemble the others, followed by an apex, *λ*, *δ*, or the like    <sup>13</sup> After *ο* the left-hand side of a curved letter, *ο*, *ε*, or the like

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the spelling with *i* instead of *e* (which might be defended by the alternation

'Απατονιών-'Απατονρεών), it does not seem possible that *Tapeών* can have occurred here. The first letter seems too close to the *v* of *τον* for *τ*, though *π* or *γ* would be acceptable; *αν* are not wide enough; the ink above the line is left unexplained. But no other month-name in Bischoff's list (P.-W. Kalender) suits the indications better.

<sup>14</sup> *κιμαίω* may possibly stand in some relation to Hesych. *κίμαι* and *κιμαός*, 'juice'.

<sup>15</sup> There appears to be no possibility of dividing the letters differently, though neither the form *δεψάω* nor *δέψω* compounded with *ἀπο-*, *ἐπο-*, or *ὑπο-* are otherwise known.

Fr. 10.

] <i>μι.αδ[..]π[</i>	] <i>μι.αδ[..]π[</i>
] <i>.ρῦνα φοινίξα[</i>	] <i>ε ρῦνα φοινίξα[</i>

The colour and general appearance of this fragment suggest that it comes from the right-hand side of the column of which more is preserved in fr. 9, and more precisely from the neighbourhood of ll. 8-10 of that fragment

<sup>1</sup> Of *μ* the right half, of *τ* the lower half    Next, two spots of ink on the line consistent with *v* or *π*    <sup>2</sup> *[*, the end of a cross-stroke    *[*, part of a stroke sloping up from left to right

Fr. II.

Col. i.	Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. ii.
] <i>[</i>	] <i>[</i>	] <i>[</i>	] <i>[</i>
] <i>λοιασθα[</i>	] <i>ἀλοιασθα[ι</i>	] <i>λανοίησταντη[</i>	] <i>ἀνοιήησταντη[</i>
] <i>γναθονπαρα[</i>	] <i>γνάθον παρα[</i>	] <i>γναθονπαρα[</i>	] <i>γνάθον παρα[</i>
5 <i>].κηρινουσεπο[</i>	] <i>.κηρινουσεπο[ηςε</i>	] <i>.κηρινουσεπο[</i>	] <i>.κηρινους ἐποί[ηςε</i>
] <i>κανετειλησ[</i>	] <i>κανετειλησ[</i>	] <i>κανετειλησ[</i>	] <i>κανετειλησ[</i>
] <i>χρύσολαμπετωραβδω[</i>	] <i>χρυσολαμπετωραβδω[</i>	] <i>χρυσολαμπέτωι ράβδωι</i>	] <i>χρυσολαμπέτωι ράβδωι</i>
] <i>νεγγυνερμινο[</i>	] <i>νεγγυνερμινο[</i>	] <i>ναν ἐγγὺς ἔρμινος.</i>	] <i>ναν ἐγγὺς ἔρμινος.</i>
10 <i>].κτοσάκολουθησ[</i>	] <i>Ερμῆς δὲ Σιμών]ακτος ἀκολουθήσ[</i>	] <i>το]δι κυνὸς τὸν φιλήτην</i>	] <i>το]δι κυνὸς τὸν φιλήτην</i>
] <i>υκυνοστοφιλητη[</i>	] <i>υκυνοστοφιλητη[</i>	] <i>]ώς ἔχιδνα συρίζει</i>	] <i>]ώς ἔχιδνα συρίζει</i>
] <i>ασεχιμανυριζ[</i>	] <i>α[</i>	] <i>αξ δὲ νυκτιβον[....].[</i>	] <i>αξ δὲ νυκτιβον[....].[</i>
] <i>αξδενυκτιβο[....].[</i>	] <i>σκ[</i>	] <i>και κατεφράθη[</i>	] <i>και κατεφράθη[</i>
] <i>καικατεφρασθη[</i>	] <i>δευσκατεσκη[</i>	] <i>Μαια]δεὺς κατέσκηψ[ε</i>	] <i>Μαια]δεὺς κατέσκηψ[ε</i>
15 <i>]μηριξε·τωδεκ[.].ητ[</i>	] <i>έπαννι·μνιαν[</i>	] <i>έμερ]μήριξε· τῶι δὲ κ[.].ητ[</i>	] <i>έμερ]μήριξε· τῶι δὲ κ[.].ητ[</i>
] <i>έπαννι·μνιαν[</i>	] <i>ξ παῦνι· μνιαν[</i>		

]ωνςυντρίονιμ[

δ' αὐτίκ' ἐλθ]ῶν σὺν τριοῖσι μ[άρτυσι  
 ⟨ὅκου τὸν ἔρπιν δ̄ σκότος καπηλεύει⟩  
 ⟨ἄνθρωπον εὑρεν τὴν στέγην ὀφέλλοντα,⟩  
 ⟨οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ὄφελμα, πυθμένι στοιβῆς.⟩

20

<sup>4</sup> An upright with some ink on the right-hand side, perhaps ρ[ or κ[ 5 ], an upright, ]ι or ]γ[  
<sup>7</sup> Over πυ more ink than the accent accounts for 9 Hipponax fr. 73 Knox 10 The copyist  
 started to write φη but never made the second upright of η, λ being written in its place 14 The  
 ink suggests φ[ more than ψ[ (which has a straight cross-bar), but this may be because it has run  
 15 λ or δ, possibly even ]μ, might be read; κ[η]λητη]η would suit 17 Hipponax fr. 70 Knox

<sup>3</sup> For -νοι- cf. Alcaeus fr. 551 and 635.<sup>7</sup> For the form cf. Anacreon fr. 27 "Ηλει καλλιλαμπέτη. The 'sparkling rod of gold' is naturally that of Hermes. (It may be worth noting that Hesychius has in χρυσόποιος δ̄ Ἔρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ράβδου καλομάχανος, where the last word may stand in some relation with the second word of Hipponax fr. 68 Knox.)<sup>8</sup> For etymologies connecting ἐρμῖς and Ἐρμῆς see Et. Mag. in ἐρμῖς, Hesych. in ἐρμῖνα, &c.<sup>9</sup> This line was quoted precisely for α, on Herodian's authority. There seems no explanation but caprice.<sup>10</sup> 'The dog-stealer', if the words are to be construed together, would naturally be taken to be Heracles, especially as ὡς ἔχιδνας υἱοίς fits Cerberus very well but not the ordinary dog. There can be little doubt, however, that Hermes is still being spoken of, so that there is a temptation to see a connexion between this phrase and Ἐρμῆς κυνάγχα . . . φωρῶν ἐτάρε, Hipponax fr. 45 Knox. But I think this must be delusive. Hermes is 'dog-throttler' because he stops dogs barking and so assists thieves, of whom he is the chief, and that is all that is meant by Hesychius (in κυνάγχη) οἱ δὲ τὸ κυνάγχα ἀντὶ τοῦ κλέπτα. Here the reference seems to be to some particular dog, and we know of none that Hermes stole (or deceived, for φιλήτης is ἀπατεών as well as κλέπτης). Tzetzes, to be sure, adduces fr. 45 to show that Argus (watcher of Io) was a dog, but even if this were true, φιλήτης would remain unexplained.<sup>14</sup> Cf. fr. 57 Knox.<sup>15</sup> κηλητῆς 'beguiler' does not occur elsewhere, but Suidas and Zonaras give κηλέστης δ̄ ἀπατεών.<sup>16</sup> Hesychius παννί· μικρόν, οἱ δὲ μέγα η ἀγαθόν.<sup>17</sup> I have kept the μάρτυσι of the MSS. We do not know enough about Hipponax to be sure that the short syllable is unacceptable, and the commonly received μάρτυρσι (Buttmann) has no warrant.

## Fr. 12.

]ενετο.κα[

]ενετο.κα[

]ενετο.κα[

έγ]ένετο κα[

έγ]ένετο κα[

έγ]ένετο κα[

It might be inferred from the appearance of this fragment that it comes from the neighbourhood of the left-hand side of fr. 11

<sup>1</sup> Above α[ a spot of ink, either the tip of a tailed letter or an accent <sup>2</sup> Of μ[ only the left-hand half, but more probable than λ[

## Fr. 13.

].[

].ιωιπ.[

].ημεν[

]. ον[

<sup>1</sup> The base of a round letter, ε or the like, followed by a spot of ink on the line 2 ]., the extreme tip of the tail of a letter which might be α or the like .[ , the bottom curve of a round letter, ο, ω, or the like

## Fr. 14.

]οιοντρυμ[

]οχήνηπολλα[

]βηξεκαισάρων[

]νεεληηνει[

]οιον Στρυμ[

κυς]οχήνη πολλα[

ε]βηξε και σαρων[

]ν εεληηνει[

It might be inferred from the appearance of this fragment that it comes from the neighbourhood of the right-hand side of fr. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of stocks, see Hesych. in v.

## Fr. 15.

].νν[

].εξ[

].ρτη[

].εια[

].[

The appearance of the fragment suggests the same neighbourhood as fr. 14.

<sup>2</sup> ]., the tip of the tail of α, λ, or the like.

## Fr. 16.

Col. ii, a.

].ωνο[

].δηλθενο[

Col. ii.

].ωνο[

δ̄ ηλθενο[

.]ειον[.]ακες[  
 ληχῶνος[  
 5 .]αίμ' είρεθο[  
 ].ιπας.[  
 ]κούδι[  
 Col. i. >) αλλεστεγυ[  
 . >) χαμαιεπιφ[  
 10 ]τρεφει >) εκδυντεса[  
 ]ιχωφ >) εδακνομεντεκаф[  
 >) διεκθυρεωγβλε[  
 ]— ]) μ' ημέαςλαβ[  
 >) γυμνουσερу[  
 15 >) εСПЕУДЕДΗМ[  
 ]с. >) εγωδεβέնе[  
 ) επάκρονελк[  
 — κλαιεικελεү[  
 20 ]к[.]μаунтикеէ[ ]севенкдес[  
 ]каидηпитоисеру[ ]и.ιсивеихом[  
 ]εγωμενωсп[ | ].ονісті..[  
 ]ζεиүпт[ | ]]фал...[  
 ]ηνавтнрндиановнг[  
 ]ефалаи[ ].[.].[.  
 . . .

1 .[,] the left-hand side of a circular letter 2 Above the first letter, what appears to be the right-hand tip of a horizontal stroke, followed by a short (ɔ) .[,] a vertical stroke, ι, γ, π, or the like 5 Above the second ε a short horizontal stroke apparently without significance 6 Of ε only the extreme tip of the middle stroke 11 φ apparently more probable than ψ, which has a straight cross-bar 12 Above ρ a dot of ink, probably accidental 13 Dots of ink both above and below the second α, that below probably fortuitous, that above possibly the tip of an acute accent 14 .[,] the left-hand tip of a horizontal stroke too low for τ or the like, most resembling that of ψ 17 Hippoanax fr. p. 4 Knox 18 The line before κλαιει might be part of a diple, being too high for an obelus 19-24 It is not certain that b is rightly placed here, but if it is the ο of ἔργοις is to be recognized partly on α, partly on b 19 [εω] would fill the space, but it might accommodate three narrow letters .[,] bottom of an upright stroke 21 Two spots of ink above γω, no doubt fortuitous 9 is preceded by a letter with a curved top, ω, ε, or the like 22 After ε the left-hand tip of a horizontal stroke, τ, ξ, or the like The second and third letters after λ contained upright strokes; λοντ a possibility

8 seqq. The diple and antisigma standing in combination against a group of verses are presumably one critical sign of which we do not know the name—unless it be the ἀλογος, some representations of which might be corrupted forms of >—or the use. For the converse arrangement, in

which antisigma and diple are independent signs standing against one line, cf. 445 col. ii 2 (Il. vi. 174).  
 13 For the accentuation cf. Schol. Od. iv. 294.  
 17 In ἐπ' the papyrus supports the scholia against the text of Hephaestion. ψήχων Knox,  
 ἄψυχον Maas.  
 19 -έωсев has not the merit of being the Ionic form usually found.

	Fr. 17.	b.	c.
a.	.]π[	.]ησα[	[
	]ων[	]απαλλαχθειс[	
	]ρε.κωс[	]ωνχλαινāс[	
5	].[	]αсεβηс.[	]...ηηсфе[
	].[	].ιк[.]αф[	]πακαιка[
	]ατελ[	]ιπ[.]сев[	]υλоскаθ[
	].γε[	]π[..]ω[	]с'εκδε[
	]κανθ[	.	]ξεδιփη[
	]ουκа[	.	]κε..[
10	]θω[	.	]саλ[
	.	.	.

The position of these three fragments relatively to one another is fixed vertically by the fibres but is not determined horizontally. a and b may actually touch.

1 .[,] a spot of ink level with the top of π .[,] the extreme tip of a tailed letter like ρ, φ, before η  
 Of φ only the extreme tip of the tail 3 .[,]ων, the tail of ]α or ]λ followed by ε or, much less probably,  
 ]η before ων 4 .[...]ηс, a long-tailed followed by a short-tailed letter, next the top of a curved  
 letter, ]υχεп one of the possibilities 5 .[,] the bottom of a rounded letter ]η thick, written over  
 7 .[,]γ, an upright preceded by the remains of a cross-stroke, ]εγ or ]ηγ .[,] an upright stroke followed  
 by a high spot of ink, either ει[ or less probably εη[ or the like .[,]ω[ a spot of ink off the line con-  
 sistent with ]ωп[ 9 After ε a spot of ink that might be the left-hand end of a horizontal stroke  
 followed by the upper part of a vertical stroke, e.g. τι

.[.]сас	[
].[.]τιλ.сас	β μ[
].ριτρωγων.	[
].φωλεօն	[

2 Nothing of the first letter remains but the end of a horizontal stroke in the middle position,  
 ε not particularly suggested; of the second the lower part of an upright, e.g. ρ or ν; of the third the

lower part of a left-hand curve, ε, ι, ο, ω, or the like. τιλήςας is not to be doubted but of η there are no more than two specks of ink from the right-hand upright remaining. 3 πέρι is possible but not verifiable.

Fr. 19.

]ληλ[  
]ληγ[  
]τένω[  
]εταρασον.[

1 Of the first letter only the tip of the tail 3 The note in a small hand below this line should no doubt be read εταρασον μα and be taken as an interlinear gloss referring to a name in the missing fourth line

Fr. 20.

].ιδ[  
]θρι.[

1 A dot on the line and the lower part of an upright precede δ, αι, λι, δι are possibilities 2 .[ the left-hand curve of c or a similar letter

Fr. 21.

. . . . .  
] . . . .  
]υασα  
]ν.  
]ωλη

Fr. 22.

. . . . .  
].: [ .  
]υα  
]α  
] . . .  
]ου . .  
]ι . .

Fr. 23.

α.[  
. .  
κω[

εξε[  
5 κου[  
ολε[  
αν.[  
πα.[  
κα[  
10 γα[  
χω[  
απ[  
ει[

1 may be the first verse of the col. 7 A spot of ink off the line, possibly the left-hand tip of the cross-stroke of a τ[ 8 .[ the middle of an upright, ι, γ, ν, &c. 9 Or λ[ To the left of the verse two spots of ink in the same position as opposite ends of an ι 11 Or κ

Fr. 24.

⟨ηῦδα δὲ λαδίζουσα· βασγ[ ⟩  
⟨πυγιστὶ τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[ ⟩  
⟨καὶ μοι τὸν ὅρχων τησφαλ[ ⟩  
⟨κράδῃ συνηλοίησεν ὥσπ[ ⟩ (790)  
5 κόποις [διοζίοισιν ἐμπεδ[  
καὶ δὴ] δύ[οισιν ἐν πόνοις[  
η τε] κρ[ά]δ[η με τούτερωθ[  
ἄνω]θεν ἐ[μπίπτουσα, κ[  
πα]ραψιδ[ζων βολβίτωι[  
10 ⟨ῳζεν δὲ λαύρη κάνθαροι[ ⟩  
⟨ἡλθον κατ' ὀμηῆν πλεῦν[ες[ ⟩  
⟨τῶν οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτοντε[ς[ ⟩  
⟨κατέβαλον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὄδ[ ⟩  
⟨θ οἱ δ' ἐμπεσόντες τὰς θυρα[ ⟩ (800)  
15 ⟨τοῦ Πινγέλησι[.....]....[ ⟩  
⟨...].υσσον οία[.....]αροιμο[ ⟩  
⟨...].ωδηνμ[.....]....[ ⟩  
⟨...]......[.....]....[ ⟩

See P.S.I. ix. 1089 from which the bulk of the supplements is taken.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius refers to this Lydian phrase four times: βασαγικόρος ὁ θάσσον συνονιάζων παρὰ Ἰππόνακτι; βάσκε πικρολέω πλησίον ἔξεβδαζε Λυδιστή; βαστιζακρόλεα θάσσον ἔρχον Λυδιστή; κρολίαζε πληγίαζε θάττον, but the correct supplement of this verse is still to seek <sup>5</sup> 'blows with a forked twig', if one accepts the reading ..]τοις, but perhaps ..]τοις is more probable

Fr. 25.

[ενδε.  
[δεν·αλλαμ  
[...της.  
[προφυ  
5 [νηδεμ  
[αμφ  
[ξι

<sup>1</sup> The base of the presumed δ has vanished <sup>2</sup> The presumed δ is represented by no more than a horizontal stroke on the line <sup>3</sup> Of the first letter the ends of three horizontal strokes remain, but ξ is not suggested, perhaps ς or χ; the second letter seems to have had an apex, α is perhaps just possible; of the third two dots remain, one off the line, the other below and to the right of it, on the line <sup>5</sup>, the bottom left-hand curve of a round letter, ε or the like <sup>6</sup> ], an upright stroke, presumably γ

Fr. 26.

[κα  
[εεμ  
[ρον  
[μεξ  
.

Fr. 27.

[λοσαλ  
[ελθον  
[οντεε  
[κνη  
[ωγ  
.

Fr. 28.

[...  
[εντ  
.

Fr. 29.

πε.  
.

Perhaps from the neighbourhood of fr. 9.  
[, a vertical stroke,  
π possible

Fr. 30.

[...  
[εω  
[θασ  
[ωση  
5 [αιγυ  
[ειν  
[δυε  
[ξυδ  
[.υ.ρ  
.

<sup>3</sup> Of τ only the left-hand end of the cross-bar <sup>4</sup> ], a spot of ink on the line, possibly δ or λ  
Of π[ only the left-hand angle, so that ς[ may be possible <sup>7</sup> ], the lower part of an upright  
9 ], the end of a stroke level with the left arm of ν Of ρ only the top left-hand corner

2175. HIPPONAX, "Ιαμβοι.

Fr. 1.

κη εις  
[κωτιλλη.  
[ναποπνιξη  
[υν.κεων  
5 [υ....νυτρον  
[λλο.ιπ[.]ηccε  
[αυχε.οπληγα  
[σανθρ[.]που  
[κταλιζουσι  
10 [ψαγριηχοιρου  
[υδρονενλερηη  
[α[.]κινονсунетрψε  
[.сθаифιληтην  
[.αтηржсбai.  
15 [φ.онап[  
[τερην[  
[.тн[.]  
[κукων..[

Fr. 1.

κη εις  
[κωτιλλη.  
[ν ἀποπνίξη  
[υν.κέων  
[ψ τὸ μῆνυτρον  
[ἄλλο τι π[ρ]ηccε  
[αὐχειοπλῆγα  
[c ἀνθρ[ώ]που  
[πν]κταλίζουσι  
сπονδῆι τε καὶ σπλάγχνοι]сн ἀγρίης χοίροι  
[υδρον ἐν Λέρηι  
κ]α[ρ]κίνον сунéтрψе  
[ψεсбai флήтηн  
[κатηржсбai  
[φρонап[  
[τεрηн[  
[.тн[.]  
[Кукωн..[

].ετην...[  
 20 ].ναι.[  
 ]νημα.[  
 ].ι[  
 ].άλ[  
 . . .  
 ].ετην.ο.[  
 ].ναι.[  
 ]ννομ.[  
 ].ι[  
 ].άλ[  
 . . .

<sup>1</sup> There is a trace of ink above κη which looks more as if it belonged to a preceding line than as if it were a stroke denoting that κη is a number. On either side of κη εις is blank papyrus <sup>2</sup> A trace of ink after η, not compatible with ι, perhaps a stop or part of a c <sup>4</sup> Apparently νης <sup>5</sup> λα might equally well be written Of the next four letters nothing but specks remain, but these and the spacing are consistent with τομη <sup>6</sup> No room for [λ] <sup>7</sup> Hippo fr. 6 Knox <sup>13</sup> Of γ only the top of the second upright <sup>14</sup> Of ι only the tip of the lower sloping stroke <sup>15</sup> Of ρ only the extreme tip of the tail <sup>19</sup> Perhaps πε After ν the feet of two uprights, perhaps π <sup>20</sup> Perhaps γ. [ or π <sup>22</sup> Before ι a horizontal stroke as of η but no sign of uprights

γ αὐχενοπλήξ new.

<sup>11</sup> A reference to Heracles is unmistakable here and in the next line (Panyassis *Heracl.* 3) and it is possible that others are to be recognized, e.g. φιλήτην 'thief' of the dog Cerberus (cf. 2174 fr. ii i 10).

18 Κίκων, cf. Hippo fr. 46 Knox and 2176 fr. i ii 15.

Fr. 2.

].λασαστοντράχ[  
 ]νεςμιλητονεξεικ[  
 ]ννη.ιδατερματιζ[  
 ].σφικαγορη[ πεπο[  
 5 ].[.]νουκοι.ηκ[.].ειτ[  
 ].ηςαντοκαιδ[.]απρ[  
 ]γγυς.ησθαλατ[.].ι[  
 ]ευσκ[.]ρκινωικ[.].ηρ[.  
 ].ιερευ[.]ν.οτ[.].κατ[  
 10 ].α[.]βολ[.].κασιγ[  
 ].πα[.]ηφαγονγ[  
 ].κυνα[  
 ].ι[.]γ[  
 ].[.  
 . . .

Fr. 2.

].λασας τὸν τράχ[ηλον  
 ]νες Μίλητον ἐξεικ[  
 ]νηςδα τερματιζ[  
 ].σφιν κάγορη πεπο[  
 ].[.]νουκοι.ηκ[.].ειτ[  
 ].ηςαντο καὶ δ[.]απρ[  
 ]έγγυς.ησθαλατ[.].ι[  
 ]ευς κ[α]ρκίνωι κ[.].ηρ[.  
 ].ιερευ[.]ν.οτ[.].κατ[  
 ].δ[ε]βόλ[ον] κασιγ[νήτη  
 πας]πα[λ]ηφάγον γ[ρόμφιν  
 ].κυνα[  
 ].ι[.]γ[  
 ].[.  
 . . .

<sup>1</sup> Ink unaccounted for over first τ <sup>4</sup> ε, ι, γ <sup>5</sup> ο, δ <sup>6</sup> δι, ? <sup>7</sup> Probably της, possibly γης <sup>8</sup> At end faint traces of a sloping stroke, e.g. α or χ <sup>9</sup> γ (or π or μ) possible <sup>10</sup> Before οτ part of a nearly horizontal stroke suggesting κ but perhaps possibly τ <sup>11</sup> Hippo fr. 36 Knox

<sup>10</sup> This seems to be a favourite locution, cf. frr. 16 and 37 Knox. I suppose 'ashes' are meant, e.g. μαρίλην, ἀ. κασιγνήτην. See also fr. 105 Bergk (Hipponax makes ἄσθολος masculine).

Fr. 3.

. . .  
 ].[  
 ].ξεψ[  
 ].τεγραψ[.  
 ].ρον  
 5 ].[.]...  
 ].ςε  
 ].ρηγεων  
 ].αξε ερρηγε  
 ].ιου  
 10 ].τυλουμεταστρεψας.  
 ].οστεκαιρούδην  
 ].ωνδαντονασκαριζοντα  
 ].νεντηγαστριλαξε..ρον.α.  
 ].ιεμη[.]οκημελασθαινειν  
 15 ].δευνεπιβροκών  
 ].ιονκαταπλ[.]ξα.  
 ].ξεδυσατηγχλαιναν  
 ].δαστεριψηγεας  
 ].θυράνεπακτωα  
 20 ].τοπυρκατακρυψας  
 ].δετασρεψας  
 ].ιηρπερκροισος.  
 ].δασκυλείωι  
 ].ξιωνυ[  
 25 ].δογ[  
 . . .

].ξεψ[  
 ].τεγραψ[ε]  
 ].ρον  
 ].[.]...  
 ].ςε  
 ].ρηγεων  
 ].ηρ]αξε  
 ].ιου  
 10 δακ]τύλους μεταστρέψας.  
 ].ος τε καὶ ρύδην  
 ἀπέψων δ' αὐτὸν ἀσκαρίζοντα  
 ].γ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ λάξ ἐγώρουνα,  
 ].ις μὴ [δ]οκήι με λασθαίνειν  
 ].δευνεπιβροκών  
 ].ιονκαταπλ[.]ξα.  
 ].ξεδυσατηγχλαιναν  
 πδ]δας περιψήγεας  
 τήν] θύρην ἐπάκτωα  
 ].τὸ πῦρ κατακρύψας  
 βακκάρ]ι δὲ τὰς ρῖνας  
 ].ηλειφον  
 ].δασκυλείωι  
 ].ξιωνυ[  
 ].δογ[  
 . . .

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps not the text but a marginal or interlinear note <sup>2</sup> ], a tailed letter <sup>6</sup> The ink has run so that the first letter looks like a π; it is perhaps γ or ι. <sup>12</sup> Of γ nothing but the tail <sup>15</sup> Fr. ap. Tzetz. in *Il.* (p. 793 Bachm.) <sup>16</sup> No room for γ, hardly for ε, perhaps therefore ι <sup>21</sup> Hippo fr. 7 Knox

<sup>8</sup> The marginale is more probably a variant than an explanation, though there seems to have developed a confusion both of forms and meanings between ἀράccω, ῥάccω (Ion. ῥήccω) and ῥήccω (όρθρων).

<sup>(ρηγματικού).</sup>  
II. Heliodorus the metrician, as we learn from Priscian (iii. 428 Keil), ‘Hipponactem ostendit iambos et choliambos confuse protulisse’. The evidence for the final iambus among choliambi is Κυλλήνες (Heliodorus’ own example, fr. 57 Knox) altered to Κυλληράναι and Κυλλήνεις, ρύθμη (fr. 75 Knox) altered to ρύθδην on the strength of Phot. ρόιθδην δαψιλῶς (between ρύαχ- and ρύγχ-) and αὐξᾶ here.

12 ἀπέψων (or ἀποψῶν) is simply a guess based on fr. 1. Know.

<sup>12</sup> ἀπέφαν (οἱ ἀποφάν) is simply a guess based on fr. 1 Knox.

15 L. & S. give 'snap' or 'gnash' with the teeth as the sense of ἐπιβρύκειν but a comparison with fr. 17 Knox suggests that here at any rate simply ἐπεσθίων is meant, 'chawing' something with one's bread. Since nouns ending in δευς are oxytone, I suppose Ὁδευς to be the ending of an adjective in ἀδεος or ὁδεος.

23 Cf. Steph. Byz. in Δασκύλιον . . . Ενδάιμων . . . καὶ Ἀρκάδιος διὰ τῆς εἱ διφθόγγου γράφουσι τὴν λί συλλαβήν.

Fr. 4

Fr. 4

]ω[  
 ]μβοδα[...]. τε[  
 ]ωιωνα[...] [  
 ]π.χ. σκόρ[...] [  
 5 ]λογωνικα[...]. ιζ[  
 ]. ζυλας[  
 ]ανδροσο[.  
 ]ταικαθη[.]. αι[  
 ]ενυχμενωιπρωκτο[

10 ]. ισημαινων  
]. σεληππορη  
]. α.. αιεξορυξ. ια.[  
]. ακι. ρ.ρ.. γησον [  
]. εσκατακυιζην[  
15 ]. κισκυ. τι. ειγαρ. [  
]. αμουλοφ. ρωγα[  
]. αιπαλωντ[.]. ο. ο.  
]. τατονδι. .... [  
]. εεινδεξ[  
20 ]. γιλαλα[.]. [  
]. .... ιε[.]. ψ[  
]. εχορω[.]. [  
]

]ω.[  
]μβοδα[...]τε[  
]ωιωνα[...]]  
]π.χ. скόρ[  
]λόγων κα[...]κιζ[  
]. силас[  
]ανδρoco.[  
]ται καθη[.]αι  
ν]ενυχμένωι πρωκτῶ

].ι σημαίνων  
]ελλη πόρνη  
].α..ιν ἔξορυξεια[  
]ακι.ρ.ρ.. νήσου  
]ες κατὰ κνίσην  
].κισκυ.τι.εγαρ.[  
].αμουλοφο.ρωγας[  
].αιπαλωντ[.].ζ..ζ.  
].τατονδι....[  
].εξενδεξ[  
].νλαλα[.].[  
].θ..ιε[.]ψ[  
]. σχορω [ ] [

2175. HIPPONAX, JAMBOU

]. αρα [.] πουν[  
 ]ετ. νκρα [.] β[  
 25 ]κεπ. γδωρ[  
 ]. ροφαρμακ[  
 ]. ω.. νκαιπλ[  
 ]ριօσαν. [.] πη[  
 ]. [ ]

]ταραξ[ι] πουν[  
 δ δ' ἔξολισθῶν ἵκέτευ]ε τὴν κρά[μ]βην  
 τὴν ἐπτάφυλλον ἦι θύες]κε Πανδώρ[η  
 Θαργηλίοιςιν ἔγχυτον] πρὸ φαρμακ[οῦ  
 ]. ω.. ν καὶ πλ[  
 ]ριօσαψ[.] πη[  
 ]

1 [, upright stroke slightly sloping to right    2 Of  $\mu$  only the right-hand side, perh.  $\eta$  possible  
Of  $\delta$  the ends of the base-line, of  $\alpha$  the tip of the angle    5 Of  $\kappa$  only extreme right-hand tips, perh.  
 $\xi$  possible; of  $\iota$  the top and bottom    6 ], most like  $\sigma$  but perh.  $\omega$     7 [, an upright stroke  
with some ink opposite the middle,  $\nu$  one possibility    11 I cannot make  $\theta\epsilon\jmath\kappa\lambda\eta$  of it    12 At the  
beginning two upright strokes with traces of ink near them,  $]_{\kappa\kappa}$ ,  $]_{\eta\eta}$  perh. possible but not satis-  
factory After  $a$  what looks like the start of  $\lambda$  or  $\chi$ ; preceding  $\omega$  what looks like  $\iota$  but may have been  
the second upright of  $\nu$ , in which case  $\lambda$  and  $\chi$  are too wide    14ay not verifiable but compatible with  
the remains    13 Between  $\iota$  and  $\rho$  a stroke sloping down from left to right Before  $\nu$  the extreme  
tip of the tail of a tailed letter    Of  $\sigma$  only a speck    15 ], apparently  $\nu$ , but  $au$ ,  $\lambda i$  possible    16  
may have been preceded by  $\eta$  and followed by  $\mu$      $\nu$  may be  $\mu$     16 ], faint traces of the top of  
an upright followed by the rounded top of  $c$     Neither  $\phi\omega$  nor  $\phi\omega\rho$  satisfactory,  $\phi\omega\tau$  impossible  
17  $\kappa\beta\alpha\tau$ , possible but not suggested by the ink    19  $]_{\tau}$  or some combination like  $]_{\kappa\tau}$ ,  $]_{\eta\tau}$     Of the  
letter after  $\delta$  only specks    Of  $\xi$  only the base-line,  $\zeta$  possible    20 At the beginning casual ink,  
 $\nu]_{\nu\nu}$  might be possible though  $]_{\eta\nu}$  or  $]_{\xi\nu}$  more like the present appearance    The bottom of  $\lambda$  has  
disappeared,  $\delta$  possible    For  $\eta$  also  $\delta$  or  $\lambda$  possible    21  $\iota$  may be only part of a letter    The  
accent may be part of a circumflex    22  $\varsigma$  might be  $\rho$      $\omega$  is followed by the top of an up-  
right    23 apparently a combination like  $\lambda u$  or  $\alpha\pi$  rather than the bottom angle of  $\nu$     24–6 Hippomax fr. 18  
Knox    27  $]_{\tau}$  or  $]_{\eta}$      $\mu\epsilon$  or  $\nu\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\eta\omega$  possible    28 For  $\alpha\pi$  perhaps  $\lambda\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\alpha\iota$  could be read. This is  
followed by the left-hand arc of  $c$  or a similar letter

<sup>16</sup> Hesychius has λοφόρρωτα (i.e. -ρῶγα). τὸν ἀπερρωγότα τοὺς ὄμους, but see app. crit.

Fr. 5

]. [.] ... [  
 ] πωλ. [ ] ε. [  
 ] ω . . οελλέα. [  
 ]. [.] ..... c ... [  
 5 ] ιαλω[..]ακ..κ[  
 ] ιβαραγχοσαρτεμ[  
 ] θ[.....]α[.]λον[.]. [  
 ]. .... τηρασπε. [  
 ] ουκυνοστον. μ[  
 10 ] νιμυσαχνονπολ[

]λοντογ[

].ων[

]καιγ[

].κον[

]

<sup>1</sup> The third letter has a tail <sup>2</sup> Perhaps λκ, not λη After ε an upright, γ or a similar letter <sup>3</sup> Betw. ε and α the original hd. seems to have added a letter above the line, of which only the first upright remains Of the last letter only a sloping stroke remains, perhaps best suited to ν <sup>5</sup> Between the κ's perhaps ην or γη <sup>6</sup> Hipponax fr. 106 Bergk <sup>8</sup>]ν or κ]αι ζτατηρασπει[τε probable <sup>9</sup> There is room for two narrow letters betw. ν and μ <sup>10</sup>]τρν probable αχν not satisfactory Or πην<sup>[12]</sup>, the top part of an upright The second letter may have been meant for γ <sup>13</sup> ξ now more resembles ε Or possibly η<sup>[14]</sup>ι or ]ρ This may have been the last line of the column

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Callim. "Ιαμβ. in 1011 col. v verso, 7 (*Hermes*, lxix. 173) τοὺς δὲ παιδας οὐδε (leg. οὐδε) Βράγχος | τοὺς τῶν Ἰώνων . . . . . | . . . . . ἀρτεμέας ἐποίη[εε;

Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
]. . .  
].εν[  
].η[.].π[  
].ρκτο[  
5]η[.]ους[  
]. . . .  
].ηκν[  
].ρκειεγ[  
].καικρεα[  
10]αποι[  
]. . . .  
]. . . .  
]. . . .

Fr. 7.

. . . . .  
].ιο[  
]. . . δ[  
].ολ[  
[ ]  
5].ηco[  
]. . . .  
].νν[  
].c [  
].αιρ[  
].κε [  
10]ννως[  
].χε..[  
].ι[  
].ε[  
].c [  
15]. . β[  
]. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Or ς[ <sup>4</sup> Over τ unexplained ink .[ , an upright stroke <sup>5</sup> η[ might be ο[, φ[ <sup>11</sup> The last letter might be α, λ, δ; preceding it γ, τ The appearance of the papyrus is similar to fr. 5

<sup>1</sup> Or η[ <sup>2</sup> Before δ a tailed letter, perhaps ν <sup>3</sup> π[ , τ[ possible <sup>12</sup> ], an upright stroke This fragment may come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 2

Fr. 8.

. . .  
].ν.α[  
. . .  
The second letter is tailed, more probably τ or φ than ρ This fragment seems to belong to fr. 4

Fr. 10.

. . .  
]. .  
].ηc[  
].ομ[  
].ωκεγα[  
5].δ.[  
].ηθ[  
].ουγεκ[  
].χωλ[  
].νδ[  
10].ηαρ[  
].ηετε[

Fr. 9.

. . .  
]. . .  
].ωιπ[  
].cap[  
].ζα[  
5]. . . ε[  
]. . .  
2 Or γ[ <sup>4</sup> ], a tailed letter

. . .  
]. . .  
].ποη[  
].παντ[  
].νλαβ[  
5].νικ..[  
].ν[[τ]]εο[

<sup>3</sup> ., the tail of a long-tailed letter <sup>6</sup> ., the lower end of a tailed letter <sup>7</sup> ., two dots one above the other <sup>10</sup> Above the second upright of η what looks like a circumflex

## 2176. COMMENTARY ON HIPPONAX.

That the source of the following fragments was a commentary on a composition in verse is obvious at first sight, and the occurrence as a lemma of a line quoted in antiquity as from Hipponax, apart from other coincidences, makes it easy to say more precisely that they come from a commentary on Hipponax. Apart from fr. 1 cols. i and ii and frr. 3–5 (if indeed these all refer to the same person), which appear to contain an attack on a man named or nicknamed Sannus for being both glutinous and emaciated, what is preserved is too short, incomplete, and discontinuous to add much to our information about the author's subjects or treatment, but on one matter some light is thrown. The greater part of Hipponax' verse of which we have

knowledge whether by way of quotation or in book texts consists of so-called scazons, that is, iambic trimeters ending in a spondee (or trochee) instead of an iambus (or pyrrhic), but we are told on the authority of Heliodorus—and there is some independent confirmation (see 2175 3, 11)—that an occasional true iambic was admitted. Among the lines quoted by ancient writers are a few such true iambics, of which it was impossible to say whether they belonged to pieces composed predominantly in scazons or not. But since in all the lemmata of the present commentary where we can either see or with reasonable probability guess at the end of a line the line is

Fr. I

Col. i

	1.....	1.[	Col. ii.
	] <omega>νεπειδηριναθεο[</omega>		
	] <epsilon>καιγαστρ..θυκατακρ[</epsilon>		
	] <nu>νονυμαοσαμνοσωλοιδορ[</nu>		
	] <pi>πεποιηςθαιφασινπαρατη[</pi>	ο..[	
5	].ρ[...]. <epsilon>δεταςαγριασαιγαςλεγεινсан[</epsilon>	αλ[	
	] <i>ανπολεμωνεντοιспрос</i>	βρα[	] <nu>.α.[</nu>
	] <i>ιαδαιονταсδεяигасепти</i>	κα[	].η.ηεγαстри[
	] <i>πоплηктоусенваи</i> [...].	5 φο[	].стросалгηδ.[
	] <i>каиентвибият</i> [ ]	μωицинвехоменовеиаща[	
10	].μεν[...]. <i>λλουδεтону</i>	τηηγасттераисаподиξи[	
	] <i>γωса</i> [.]. <i>μεπειδηρиа</i>	κρωчтавиадесоуфгечиуои[	
	]. <i>тouс</i> . <i>οιпарасчес</i> ω	καιонтрахълонотиефви[	
	] <i>ιсунтогтибоуслеусаи</i> θ	10 καιкатесθиескаиμηсеката[	
	] <i>ζтηγ..ρo</i> . <i>ιλιирина</i>	μос πρωтоиμенекдисиε[	
	] <nu>.[.].<i>акόνтосаи</i>ντοу</nu>	νεиаиауиправатоиχеиронои[	
	] <i>νапопоан</i>	фармаконп[ο]иεириадиаиγар.	
	] <i>νтахаде</i>	фармаконп[ο]иεиакаианадоθ[	
15	] <nu>.ομε[</nu>	τοиκωδоло[	
		15 αиλгесиедесоиκиκаквтокакада[	
		скеи[...]. <i>ιδетониκиκакна</i> .[	

Col. i

2176. COMMENTARY ON HIPPONAX

a true iambic, not a scazon, it may now be taken as an acquired fact that, besides the pieces consisting predominantly of scazons, Hippoanax composed pieces consisting predominantly (if not entirely) of true iambs. The generalization is based on only five instances (frr. 1 i 2 κατακρα[τέεις, 1 i 13 βουλεῦσαι θέ[λω, 1 ii 3 τοὺς βρα[χίονας 1 ii 15 αὐλήσει δέ *col.*, 3, 2+5, 2 = 77 Knox ὁς ἐρωδιοῦ), but is not in itself improbable and there is no sign of an instance on the other side.

The hand may be compared with those of 1082 and 1233 and assigned like them to the second century. The cursive annotations appear to be contemporary.

FIG. I.

Col. i

] $\hat{\omega}$ Κάνν' ἐπεὶ δὴ ρῦνα θεο[		
] $\epsilon$ ις καὶ γαστρὸς οὐ κατακρα[	Col. ii.	
] $\nu$ ὄνομα ὁ Κάννος ὁ λοιδορ[ $\epsilon$ ῖται	.	.
] $\pi$ εποιῆσθαι φασιν παρὰ τὴ[ $\nu$	ο..[	
]. $\rho$ [...]. $\varsigma$ δὲ τὰς ἀγρίας αἴγας λέγειν $\sigma$ αν-	αλ[	τοὺς
νάδας καθά φη]ιν Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς	βραχίονας καὶ τὸ]ν τράχ[ηλον	
'Αντίγονον κα]ὶ Ἀδανὸν τὰς δὲ αἴγας ἐπι	κα[ ]. $\eta$ σε γαστρίη[	
ἀ]ποπλήκτους εἶναι [...]οιν	5 φο[ γ]αστρὸς ἀλγηδ[. $\varsigma$ οἱ γὰρ λι-	
καὶ ἐν τῷ βίωι τ[.....]	μῶι συνεχόμενοι εἰώθασ[ι	
.μει[...]λλούδε του	τὴν γαστέρα εἰς ἀπόδειξι[ νενε-	
] $\nu$ ὁ Κάνν' ἐπεὶ δὴ ρῦνα	κρῶσθαι δέ σού φησιν τοὺς β[ραχίονας	
], τους οι παράσχεις ω	καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὅτι ἐφθιν[	
]. $\nu$ σύν τοι τι βουλεῦσαι θε-	10 καὶ κατεσθίεις καὶ μή σε κατα[ λι-	
]στηγ[...]. $\rho$ . υλιν ρῦνα	μός. πρῶτον μὲν ἐκδὺς νε <sup>ο</sup> [ παραι-	
] $\nu$ νε[.]ακρόντος αὐτοῦ	νεῦ αὐτῶι πρῶτον χειρονομ[	
] $\nu$ ἀπὸ παν-	φάρμακον πιεῦν. ράιδίως γὰρ [. λ	
] $\nu$ τάχα δὲ	φάρμακον πιεῦν καὶ ἀναδοθ[	
] $\nu$ ε. ομε	15 αὐλήσει δέ σοι Κίκων τὸ Κωδαλο[ <sup>τὸν Κωδαλο</sup>	
• • • • •	σκευάσα]ι δὲ τὸν Κίκωνα .[	
• • • • •	] $\Gamma$ ] [	

Fr. 2.

	]. [ ]. [	Fr. 3.
	]. τους επιχ[	.
	]. ωμαρνυχ[	]. γ[
	]. ξιαν. [	] λοσως [...] <sup>κ μη</sup> διοι
5	]. σασμ. [	]. . ει. [.] ελεγε[
	]. [	] νοεραδιο[
	.	5 ]. εν. [ ]. νκτ[
	.	]. τ[ ]. το[

Fr. 4

νοισδηλο[.]οτιγα[  
νωασπερκαιγει[  
5 ερωδιονπάγρ.[  
εύωασερωδιονω[  
↑ φεκτιθειστα.[  
καθηγησαμε.[  
νηρο.τ.υτην[  
10 μει[  
κα.[  
ως[  
...[  
.ε...[

Fr. 5

]..[.] [ ]φο[  
 1.δ<sup>η</sup>νυμφητο[  
 ]λαιμαιδεσοιτο x.  
 κρ.  
 ]τουλαιμουωσαν  
 ]ακτικονδετο  
 5 ]ν[.] τοις περιτονο  
 ]εσιαιαθηναεπι  
 ]ωνοναρπασομε  
 ] [ ]

Fr. 2

]. [ ]. [	Fr. 3.
]. . τουσεπιχ[	. . . .
]. ξῶμα ψυχη[	]. η[
]. cciav. [	χεῖ] λος ὡς [έρω] διοῦ.]
5 ]cacμε[	καὶ μη[
]. [	]. . cei. [ . ] ελεγε[
	] ν ὁ ἐρωδιο[ c
	5 ]. ev. [ . ] vkt[
	] τ[ ]. το. [

Fig. 4

νοις δῆλο[ν] ὅτι γα[  
να ὥστερ καὶ γει[  
5 ἐρωδιὸν Παλ( ) γρ.  
εὐ ὡς ἐρωδιοῦ ω[  
ος ἐκτιθεὶς τα.[  
καθηγησαμεν[  
νήσου ταῦτην [  
10 μεγ[  
κα.[  
ως[  
...[  
εδ[

Fr. 3.

].η[  
 χει]λος ως [ἐρω]διον.  
 καὶ μηδ  
 ].cei.[.ελεγε[  
 ]ν δ ἐρωδιο[  
 5 ].ev.[.υκτ[  
 - ]τ[.το[

Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
]εε[  
]. . . [  
]. [..] εχηραμον ποιοι  
], ιονται λεγει δε τας καμει[  
5 ] νος δε εαποτου εξειπο ν7  
]. [..]. ε[.] ν. εντωιστατιν7  
] ονδ . . υλ θ[.] φησιν[  
]. [ . ]. εσθαιχ . . . [  
] εγυναικ[.]. [.] πην . . [  
] τωματαταεναπολ[  
] βανωιπερικαυμα[  
] ιμειν, ταρτωφ.. εθηη[  
]. πασουενιοιαπ[  
]. [..] πιε[.] αρα[..] η[  
]. [ . ]. εκτ[.]

Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.
].κ..[	].ρονο[
]τηικα[	]ταινυνδ[...]πιαμμονθ[
]μονε[	]βαλλονιστρ[...]ιονεκκη
]μητα[	]εμινπρ[...]αυτααη[
.	5 ]εγκεναυτ[.]υτριταιο[
.	].[.] [ ]υπρο[.]κηρη
	]τοκαντοις]
	]υημοσδαρ7
	]κκηρυκοс€[
10	]օմօιօնտաи[
	]τανηсав
	]υтесассов
	]ρафоу7
	]γυстгсба
	15 ].ω..օε

Fr. 8.  
]. ως. [  
νδ[...] πιαμονθ[  
ουσιτρ[...] ιουνεκκη  
αινπρ[...] αυτατααρ[  
εναντ[...] ντριταιο[  
[.][.] γηπρο[...] κηρο[  
]γοκαντοις7  
]νημοσδαρ7  
]κκηρυκοсe[  
]ομοιοντωι[  
], τανηςαν  
]ντεсассов  
], ραφου7  
]γυντηςθα  
]. ω...οε  
]. λουси  
], πατηρ  
] εδιασκευ

Fr. 9.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.
]καζι[	]ταιτο.[	]δ.[
]ζευη[	]εταιδι[	]εκαικο.[
.	]μππ[	]ζμι[
.	<sup>νο.</sup> ]δουεχ[	]ξα[
5	]δετουκ[	.
Fr. 10.	].ινπλ[	.
.	]πουςι[	Fr. 13.
]αιος[	]μωια[	.
]τοσω[	]πος[	]εccε[

20	]αιωιστεωι ]. αρ[.]ς τοφαγ ]πολ[.]ανδρει ]. λονων ]. . η[ε]
25	]ιανκη[ ]φκπροτ[ ]λαγυνητ[ ]δηγραφ[
30	]πιθετογ[ ]πλοι[. οιουδ' α ]...τοτι..ρ.

Fr. 6.	Fr. 8.
• . . . .	• . . . .
].εε[	].ρονο[
]....[	].εως[
].[,]ς χηραμὸν ποιοι	].ται νῦν δ[ὲ ἐ]πὶ ἄμμον θ[
κ]αίονται. λέγει δὲ τὰς καμί-	].βάλλουσι τρ[ιτα]ῖον ἐκ κηρ[υ-
5 νους ἵπ]νὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔξιποῦν	έ] μιν πρ[...] αὐτὰ τὰ ἀν[
].[,]ε[.]ν. ἐν τῷ στατίν	5 ἥ]ν]εγκεν αὐτ[ὸ]ν τριταῖο[ν
].οὐδ...]υλη ἥ[.] φησιν	].[,]ν προ[.]κηρυ-
].[,]εσθαι χ.ορ.[	].το κάν τοῖς
].ε γυναικ[.,][.]πην..[	].νημος δαρ-
].τώματα τὰ ἐν Ἀπολ-	έ]κ κήρυκος ε-
].βάνωι περικανμα[	].όμοιον τῷ
].ιμεν. τ(ῶν) ἀρτων ..τερ(ὸ) τη(ὸ) [	].τανησαν
].ινας οὖς ἔνιοι απ[	].ντες ἀσσον
].[,]νις[.]αρα[...]η[	].ραφον
].[,]εκτ[.]	ἐγ]γὺς τῆς θα-

	20	] $\nu$ νεκρον ε-
		]αιωι ὁστέωι
		]. Ἀρ[ι]στοφα-
		]πολ[.]ανδρει
		]. λονων
		]. . . η
25		]
		] $\nu$ ναν κ(ai) πα[
		]( ) φ(a ) κ(ai) πρὸ τ(ῶν)[
		]. λαγυγνητ(ai)[
		]. δῃ( ) γραφ[
		] $\pi$ ιθετου .[
30		] $\pi$ λοφμ(εν)τοιονδ' α[
		]. . . τοτι . β .

Fr. 14.	Fr. 16.	
Col. i.	Col. ii.	
]εκοςμ[	.	.
]θυπεων[	.	.
]νε.[	]	.
.	]	.
Fr. 15.	]	χ[
.	]	ο[
]	]	φυγο[
ατο..α[	5 ]	αεπ[
].καιβλ[	]	.
].κετι[	.	.
.	.	.

**Fr. 1** Col. i 1 Above *cavne* and *ηρ* remains of a schol. 2 Of *ος* only traces I have assumed that the cross-bar of *θ* is due to the running of the ink along a fibre 5 ], the upper right-hand branch of *χ* or *κ* is preceded by an upright 8 ], the lower part of a nearly vertical stroke which descends below the line Of ] only the top right-hand part, *ε*, *ς*, *ρ*, *β* are other possibilities *γ* might be *ει*, *λι* 9 ], the bottom curve of *ε*, *ο* 10 ], on the line the curved tail of a letter 12 ], the top curve of *ο* or *ε* Probably *μοι*, but the *μ* unusual 14 .*ε* or .*θ* suggested before *ρο* but perhaps illusory; one broad letter would fill the space The appearance of the ink after *ρο* is certainly deceptive, the surface having been damaged and twisted 15 For *κο* perhaps η[.] should be written 18 The traces between *ε* and *ο* are very slight but suit the cross-bar of *τ*

Col. ii 4 ], a spot of ink on the line 5 Whether δο[ or δο[ not determinable 11 ], the upper parts of two vertical strokes, perhaps belonging to different letters, but probably to be taken as φο[ 13 ], the bottom of a slightly curved stroke, consistent with *c* and similar letters

**Fr. 2** 2 ], a trace on the line followed by the lower part of a tailed letter, *αρ* would suit

**Fr. 3** 2 Fr. 77 Knox 3 After ει remains of two strokes forming an angle, perhaps μ[ or κ[ 5 ει is preceded by two spots level with the top of *ε*, perhaps ]μ or ]γ, and followed by a cross-bar level with the top of *ν*, perhaps τ[ or γ[ 6 το is followed by an upright, perhaps ν[ or τ[

**Fr. 4** 5 ], a spot on the line consistent with α 7 ], the middle part of a vertical stroke Or μ[

**Fr. 5** 2 Fr. 77 Knox

**Fr. 6** 4 ], the right-hand stroke of *μ*, *α*, or the like 6 ], a stroke curving downwards from left to right, followed by the top of a thickened upright and the top of a stroke slanting down left to right Before ε a spot on the line, suitable to δ, λ, ξ, &c.; perhaps ].ε should be written There may be nothing lost between *ε* and *ν* Another narrow letter may be lost after *ν*, in which case ν[.]. should be written 7 δ is followed by a spot of ink to the right of which is a horizontal stroke, level with the top of the δ Of η the top and bottom of the left-hand and the looped top of the right-hand stroke 8 ]ρε, ]γε Of ι only the extreme lower tip, of ο the lower loop, of ρ the tail; ρ is followed by traces of a stroke ascending from left to right, perhaps ο[ 12 ], the extreme end of *a*, *μ*, or the like π[ is crossed by a stroke in the same ink as the interlinear note 13 Or ]ρι 14 After τ the upper left-hand part of ε or ο

**Fr. 7** 3-4 Neither of the *μ*'s is satisfactory, the first is more spread than is usual in this hand, the second has a trace of ink near the top of the left-hand upstroke not accounted for

**Fr. 8** 1 ], *κ* or *χ* 11 ], *ο* or *ω* possible 13 ], *γ* or *τ* 15 ], the right-hand end of a high cross-bar, probably *γ* or *τ* After ω an apex and the top of an upright, more like *αι* or *λι* than *ν*; then another apex, most like *α* 17 Before π a long-tailed letter, *ρ* or *ν*

**Fr. 11** 1 .], an upright stroke, ι or part of κ, ν, &c. 4 interl. The last letter looks like τ but there is nothing to denote abbreviation 6 ], traces reconcilable with γ or the right-hand half of τ

**Fr. 12** 2 .], a vertical stroke descending below the line, β, ρ, possible

**Fr. 13** .], a vertical stroke descending below the line, ρ possible

**Fr. 14** 1 ε converted from ι by the original writer, ο anomalously made

**Fr. 15** 1 After ο a letter with a tail descending below the line, perhaps ρ or ν, followed by a letter with a tail on the line, τ or γ 2 ], a tail descending below the line,

**Fr. 16** Col. ii 1 A tail descending below the line 3 ο[, ο[ or the like

**Fr. 1** Col. i 1 Κάννα is ambiguous. This commentator takes it as the vocative of Κάννας (l. 3) but the spelling more usually found is Κάννας, quoted from Cratinus as meaning 'fool' and derived (1) from a proper name, like Κόροιβος and others, (2) from *calvus*, (3) ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰτανῶν Σάννας. In l. 4 seq. still another derivation appears to be offered and the word is brought into relation with *canadas* (cf. Hesych. in v.) 'wild goats'.

2 Possibly κατακρατέεις. All that is preserved of ll. 1-2 appears to be a lemma.

6 In the title of Polemon's book (which is believed to have been concerned with works of art) the names, when both occur, are elsewhere found in the reverse order.

11-14 The first and third of these lines are all lemma, probably the second also. About the fourth it does not seem possible to decide.

14 προτυλιν (unattested) is not ruled out by the ink but cannot be verified.

Col. ii The lemmata are marked by a paragraphus underneath the line in which they begin and (l. 11) a blank space of about one letter.

3 Supplemented on the basis of l. 8. 4 should perhaps be supplemented on the basis of l. 10.

4 Hesych. γαστρίαν στρόφον . . . 'gripes' and therefore perhaps στρόφοι here.

10 καταλάβητ;

11 "First taking off your clothes . . ." He recommends him "to take some sparring exercise and then a dose". ἀναδίδοσθαι is a technical medical term; perhaps ἀναδοθήσεται 'will spread through the body'.

15 For the 'flooring of sconces' to a tune on the flute, see Athenaeus xi. 783e. The point here is no doubt that the sconce is not of wine but of medicine.

Κίκων and Κώδαλος were flute-players, v. Athenaeus xiv. 624b; the first seems to have been a favourite butt of Hipponax, cf. fr. 46 Knox, 2174 fr. 9, 7 (?).

**Fr. 3-5** It is obvious that these three fragments come from the same neighbourhood but it does not seem that they actually touch. Fr. 3, 2 might be the continuation of fr. 5, 2, in which case about 3 letters are lost on either side of fr. 3.

**Fr. 4** 5 Perhaps Παλ(αμήδης) γραψ[φει. Palamedes of Elea is known as the author of three works concerned with verbal criticism. His variant may have been δέ]λεδ.

9 It may be worth while to recall that the Διομηδεία νῆσος is mentioned in many places as being inhabited by ἔρωδιοι.

**Fr. 5** 2 seq. It may be guessed that λαιμᾶν was etymologized ἀπὸ τοῦ λαιμοῦ. Cf. Meletius π. τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς (Cramer, A.O. iii) 84. 19.

4 seq. Perhaps ἀρπακτικὸν δὲ τὸ | σύνεον ].

**Fr. 6** 4 seq. It is a reasonable guess that here the commentator is speaking of different words for 'oven'. κλιβάνω in l. 11 is a somewhat longer shot.

12 If, as the interlinear gloss suggests, 'loaves' were mentioned, ἀχαΐνας may be guessed at the beginning, 'which some [name?]—'. Athenaeus supplies at least three names beginning with απ[ but none equated with αχαΐνης.

**Fr. 8** It might be tempting to suppose that the greater part of this fragment relates to the

treatment of the *φαρμακός*, but much of the detail does not exactly agree with what is elsewhere recorded. With l. 14 cp. 2175 fr. 2, 7

The footnote perhaps contains a reference to Aegina.

Frr. 11-12 3 "Ερμηππος ὁ Συνρυτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἰππάνακτος is quoted by Athenaeus 327b.

### 2177. ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM.

Fr. (a) 13·2×16·7 cm.

Third century.  
Plate XIII.

This latest addition to the literature of Alexandrian anti-Roman propaganda<sup>1</sup> introduces us to new characters and a new incident, or perhaps we should say, if we accept von Premerstein's thesis,<sup>2</sup> to a new chapter in the *Historia Calamitatum*. As in the *Acta Appiani* (33+the Yale fragment mentioned below), so in 2177 the Jews are not mentioned and there is no reason to think that any anti-Semitic demonstration was the occasion of the trial recorded here. What is new is that both the spokesmen before the Emperor are Athenians, not Alexandrians, and, though foreign spokesmen such as Paul of Tyre or Athenodorus (whom we now know to have been an Athenian) have appeared in the other fragments in a subordinate capacity, here they are principals. Emphasis is laid here on the sympathy, almost the common cause, of Athens and Alexandria. We have (l. 13) the explicit statement, placed apparently in the mouth of the Emperor, that the laws of Athens and Alexandria were the same, and though this general statement cannot be pressed too far, it provides interesting confirmation of the conclusions already reached by jurists on the basis of the *Dikaiomata* and other legal texts (the most recent study of this subject is by R. Taubenschlag, 'The ancient-Greek-city laws in Ptolemaic Egypt' in *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie*, pp. 471-89). It is not unlikely that the letter quoted at one point in the trial (ll. 29-49) was addressed by the Emperor to the Athenians rather than to the Alexandrians. This Emperor, whose title unfortunately is imperfectly preserved, was either Trajan or Hadrian and more probably (see note to l. 28) the former; we may at any rate be sure that the Emperor conducting the trial is not the same as the author of the letter. If, as seems very probable, the Athenodorus of our text is the same as the delegate of that name in the *Acta Hermaisci* (1242) which took place before Hadrian, then the Emperor conducting the trial in our fragment will be Hadrian and the author of the letter quoted in it Trajan. (The author of the letter must have been either Trajan or Hadrian, and if it was addressed to the Athenians, it would hardly have been written in these terms by any one so *φιλαθήναιος* as Hadrian). The resemblance to the *Acta Appiani* already noted in no way obliges us to think that the trial of 2177 was also enacted before Commodus.

<sup>1</sup> A good general introduction to the subject with references to all the texts found to date is contained in C. Bradford Welles's publication, 'A Yale Fragment of the Acts of Appian', in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. lxvii (1936), pp. 7 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> For a criticism of the view that all these fragments formed part of a single work, see H. I. Bell in *Archiv*, x (1931), pp. 5 seqq.

### 2177. ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

The point at issue is unfortunately obscure, but it appears from fr. 2 that the envoys were demanding the return of certain *εὐγενεῖς* who were presumably being kept as hostages at Rome (perhaps in consequence of the troubles at Alexandria which are the theme of 1242). There is no clear indication of the *mise-en-scène*; but the presence of the Emperor accompanied by senators (l. 62) leaves us in little doubt that the action took place at Rome.

The text is written on the recto in a clear hand, slanting and pointed, commonly used for literary texts in the third century; there is no reason to think that this specimen belongs to the early part of the century. Punctuation and paragraphi have been inserted rather carelessly by a second hand. On a small fragment not reproduced below are the remains of an elaborate coronis. In fr. 2 conjectural supplements, except where they seem fairly probable, have been reserved for the notes. The verso of the text is blank.

Fr. 1. Col. i.

[...] πόλεως κ[...]ων  
πέριξ κυκλαμι[ν.....] (ν)  
[.] εν[...]. νριας ἀρδ[ρ]ελας  
Καῖσαρ ὑμεῖς τῆς ἀλλοτρί-  
5 ας πρεσβευταί ἔστε: Ἀθάμα[σ]  
οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀλλοτρίας πόλε-  
ως πρεσβευταὶ ἀλλὰ ἴδια[σ]  
Καῖσαρι συνγενῆς ἡ πόλις  
Καῖσαρ Ἀθηνόδωρόν μοι  
10 τις καλεσάτω: Ἀθηνόδω-  
ρος· πάρεμι κύριε ἴδιας  
ἀκούων ὑποθέσεως: Καῖσαρ  
τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρῶ(ν)-  
ται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἄλεξα(ν)-  
15 δρεῖς· Ἀθηνόδωρος: πάν-  
[των] γὰρ νόμων ἰσχυρότε-  
[ροι ὅ]ντες τὴν εὐκρασία(ν)  
[τῆς] φιλανθρωπίας ἔχουσι(ν)  
[ο δὲ Ἀθηνόδωρος τέκνα ~  
20 [...] τα δημόσια τεσ

4 ὥμεις  
16 ἵσχυροτε

[.....]. φ δόξα [....]τρος  
[.....]. [...]ψ[.....]  
[ c. 16 letters ]πρ[.]  
[ c. 18 „ ]φ  
· · · · ·  
καισαρ: perhaps correct to καὶ γάρ, cf. n. to ll. 8-9    11 ιδιας    12 υποθεσεως

## Col. ii.

25 κα[.]ελ[ c. 14 letters ]  
ἐπιστολῆς [ c. 10 „ ]  
ἀντιβαλῶν [ c. 10 „ ]  
ἐπιστ[ολὴ Τραιανοῦ]  
Αὐτοκρά[τ]ωρ [Καῖσαρ Τραι-]  
30 ανὸς Σεβα[σ]τὸ[ς Γερμανικὸς]  
Δακικὸ[ς] τοῖς [ c. 11 letters ]  
τοῖς εἰδόσι τὰ [ „ „ ]  
να εὐχερές ἦν [ „ „ ]  
θρασυτολμίαν [..... ἀλ-]  
35 λ ῥσπερ ὑπὲρ [..... πόλε-]  
ως ἐπρεσβεύ[σασθε .....]  
λου [λ]ογιωτάτου [..... οὐ-]  
κ ἀν ἔσχον νμ[.....]  
νοιαν ἐλεγξα[.....]  
40 φιλόλογοι ἐγρά[ψατε ἔγνω-]  
σται μὲν ἡ ἐμ[η ἀνεξι-]  
κακία καὶ ὑμε[ῦ σημεῖον δι-]  
δωμι τῆς εἰς ὑμ[ᾶς φιλαν-]  
θρωπίας καὶ ον[ c. 9 letters ]  
45 μα[.]. ὑμῶν τα[ c. 8 „ ]  
πα[...]ψ τούτου μ[ c. 6 „ ]  
[....εύσε]βεῖς .[ c. 6 „ ]  
[.....].ν καὶ [ c. 6 „ ]  
[.....].α [ c. 8 „ ]  
· · · · ·

35 υπερ    38 υμ[    42 υμε[ l. υμ[τν .    43 υμ[

## Fr. 2.

## Col. i.

50 ](ν)

].

].ει

]μα

]κα

· ·

55 ιπα[..... τοὺς]  
παρ' ἡμεῦν εὐγενεῖς ου[...]

ρωμένους ἡμεῖν, ἀπό[στει-]  
λον Ἡραιου γὰρ εἰσὶν μα[θη-]  
ταί: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀναγνο[ὺς]

60 τὴν γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστο[λὴν]  
μετακαλεσάμενος ἐπ[...]  
[συγ]κλητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς [ἰδί-]  
[ου]ς φίλους ἐκέλευσε [...]

[.....]την καὶ Ἀθάμαν[τα]  
65 [ἀχθ]ῆναι καὶ ἔφη αὐτ[οῖς]  
[τόδε τὸ] βιβλιδ[ι]ον ἡ πόλ[ις]  
[ἐπεμ]ψεν η οι.. τρίτη π[...]  
[...λα]βόντες: Ἀθάμας: ν[...]  
[.....]νε[.].νηπ[...]

70 [.....]ν· δ[.....]ντη[...]  
[.....]νετ[.....]ι ω[...]  
· · · · ·

56 l. ἡμῖν and in 57    71 ω[

## Fr. 3.

]νοι αρ[

] γὰρ ἡμ[

πε]ρὶ τούτω[ν

75 ]πυνθα[ν

· ·

## Fr. 4.

].ο[

]ατοις ψ[

]νς τρ[

]τυχοῦσι[

80 ]ξεν οὐ πρα[

κατ]ηγορειτ[

]γατο[

].: ν[

· ·

83 ι[

4 seqq. ‘Caesar: You are ambassadors of an alien city. Athamas: We are not ambassadors of an alien city, but of our own. Caesar: The cities are related? Caesar: Summon Athenodorus. Athenodorus: I am present, my lord, listening to the grounds of my own indictment. Caesar: You mean that the Athenians and the Alexandrians have the same laws? Athenodorus: Yes, for they are stronger than all other laws and have the happy blend of clemency and strength.’

58 seqq. ‘Send back to us these nobles of ours who are not . . . For they are disciples of Heraeus.’ Caesar read the letter they had written and then recalled the senators and his private friends. He ordered . . . and Athamas to be brought before him and said to them: ‘Has the city sent this petition or those who . . .?’

1 It is doubtful whether there is room for *κ[εφαλ]ων*; the scribe does occasionally, as in l. 3, compress the letters at the end of the line, but the *v* here is of normal size.

2 If some form of *κυκλάμων* is to be read here (and though *ς* might be read for *v*, it is difficult to find an alternative), we may assume that the ambassadors came for their audience with their heads wreathed with cyclamen, cf. the scene in the *Acta Appiani* (33 iii), where Appianus obtains the permission of the Emperor to wear the insignia of his rank, the fillet and the white shoes, on his way to execution.

3 ].*vpias*. Of the first letter of this group part of an upright stroke with a slight hook at the end survives: *κ*, *μ*, and *σ* can be ruled out. The word may have been not an adjective in agreement with *αὐδεῖας*, but more likely another noun, e.g. *μαρ]vpias* is a possible but not a likely reading. (One of the advocates of the Alexandrians in 1243 was a Tyrian, Paul, but *Tupias* is not convincing.)

5 A paragraphus should have been placed below this line, as also below l. 10.

8–9 It is odd that the name of the speaker has been repeated in subsequent lines when no other speaker intervenes, though this may be explained on the ground that in l. 9 the Emperor turns and addresses one of his retinue, and probably another instance of this practice is to be found in ll. 15 and 19. Further, the remark *συγγενῆς η πόλις* comes strangely from the Emperor, unless it is a question, and in that case it meets with no reply. As the paragraphi and the punctuation were inserted, and none too carefully, by a second hand, it is open to us to assume that they should have been placed below ll. 8 and 10, instead of below ll. 8 and 9: in that case the first *Kaiσap* will be a vocative (though in l. 11 and throughout the *Acta* the Emperor is commonly addressed as *κύριε*) and the remark *συγγενῆς η πόλες* will come more appropriately from the lips of Athamas. Another and more satisfactory solution, proposed by Mr. A. H. M. Jones, is that the first *Kaiσap*, in l. 8, should be regarded as a mistake for *καὶ γάρ*. The correction is an easy one and would certainly improve the sense.

15 seqq. For the interpretation of these lines I am indebted to Dr. H. I. Bell. The statement is certainly elliptical (in particular, the expression *εὐκρασίαν [της] φιλανθρωπίας* unsupported by another noun in the genitive is difficult); but I can make no sense of it on the assumption that the subject of the sentence is personal, and if it is *νόμοι*, the supplement *παν[των]* is inevitable.

In the following lines Dr. Bell also makes the plausible suggestion that *τεκνα* should be treated as a vocative, not as part of a narrative, and that *ἔφη* should be supplied at the beginning of l. 20.

20 *τεκνα*: for the use of this word in the *Acta*, cf. 33 i ii; 1089 38. *τεκμα* (e.g. *τεκμα[ρουμα]*) might be read, but is less likely.

28 It is possible that Hadrian's name, not Trajan's, should be supplied here and in l. 29, since Dacicus was a title common to both; but Nerva appears to have been omitted (at least in the papyri) before Trajanus more commonly than Trajanus was before Hadrianus, and on this and other grounds (for which see the introduction) it is safer to assume that Trajan was the reputed author of this letter. On the other hand, it may be noted that Dio (lxix. 8. 1a) relates that Hadrian sent a letter severely rebuking the Alexandrians.

31 If [*Αλεξανδρεύοι*] is supplied here, the line with 23 letters would be slightly longer than any others: three lines only (5, 13, and 30) have 22, and 20 is about the average. As the Athenians figure so prominently in our fragment, it is possible that [*Αθηναῖοις*] should be supplied, which would give a line of normal length. See also note to l. 35 below.

32 Perhaps *τα [πεπραγμέ]να*: but we should expect *τα εμα πεπραγμένα*, which would give too long a line.

33 Perhaps [*κατεχειν την*].

35 If the letter is addressed to the Athenians, we could supply here [*ιδιας πολε]ως* (cf. l. 7). Otherwise either *αυτονομον* or *πολεμιας* may be suggested, though the former would give a line of 23 letters.

38 Probably either *α]νοιαν* or *κακο]νοιαν* is to be supplied.

41 This line is unusually short, but it is unlikely that there was more than one word after *εμ[η]*.

55 seqq. From l. 59 it would appear that these lines are the end of a letter presumably addressed by the Alexandrians to the Emperor (or possibly to a prefect); they can hardly be part of the letter of the Emperor beginning in l. 29. At the end of l. 56, to judge from the subsequent lines, we should not expect there to be more than four letters missing, at the most; neither *ιερᾶσθαι*, *όρᾶσθαι*, nor *έρράσθαι* seems very appropriate. In the next line the imperative seems preferable to the accusative of *ἀπόστολος*. The implication is that some Alexandrians of noble birth are being kept as hostages.

58 This line is quite obscure. Heraeus as a personal name is known only from epigraphical and papyrological sources.

61 Perhaps *επ[ειτα]*; but it seems unnecessary, and we should expect *τοις* before [*συγ]κλητικους*.

62 There is hardly room for [*ουκει]ους*].

63 After *εκελευσε* we should expect the name of one of the Alexandrian or Athenian representatives, and it looks as if the same name might appear after the punctuation in l. 70. But the only well-attested masculine name beginning with *A* and with an accusative in -*ην* that I can find is *Democrats*, and, though that would fit well enough here, it cannot be read in l. 70. Diophantes occurs occasionally in papyri (see *Archiv* ii, p. 518, 3, and the index to SB. iii)—Diophantos is quite frequent—and may have been the name in question here; if so, the letters must have been rather widely spaced in l. 70 and here a short word of some 3 or 4 letters may have intervened between it and *εκελευσε*. Both *Democrats* and *Diophantus* were common Attic names (see Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*).

66 Possibly *βιβλιδην* should be read.

67 *ρ* or *φ* can be read for *ψ*. After the *oi* the end of a high cross-stroke and a little beyond and above that a stroke which looks like the top of an epsilon. But though close together, the only letter they could unite to form would be a *ψ*. *τε* is difficult grammatically, and if it is right we must assume that the letters were very cramped.

Fr. 3 This may have formed part of Trajan's letter; but it does not connect directly with ll. 29–49.

## EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

### 2178. AESCHYLUS, Ἀγαμέμνων.

Although the appearance of the writing is not precisely the same in the following scraps as in the papyri of the *Niobe*, *Dictyulci*, *Theori*, and other plays of Aeschylus published in P.S.I. xi and this volume, it may be taken to proceed from the same hand. It is the first piece of an extant play to turn up in Egypt and agrees in all respects with M, including the presence of the verse *ἀστέρας ὅταν φθίνωσιν κτλ.*, except that I cannot make *η* of the letter following *ἀειδειν* in v. 16 and that *εα* is excluded at the beginning of v. 30.

7	].τ.[	α]ctē[ρας
	].ν[	κ]αὶ ν[ῦν
	]τηντ[	αὐ]γὴν π[υρὸς
10	]ωci.[	ἀλ]ώσιμ[ον

[ <i>ναικος</i> ]	[ <i>γυ]ναικός ἀ[γδρόβουλον</i>
[ <i>τανδει</i> ]	[ <i>ε]ὗτ' ἂν δὲ ν[ικτίπλαγκτον</i>
[ <i>ηνηνοειρ</i> ]	[ <i>εύ]νήν ὄνειρ[οις</i>
[ <i>ηρφοβοσγα</i> ]	[ <i>ἔ]μήν φόβος γά[ρ</i>
15 [ <i>μηθεβαιωc</i> ]	[ <i>τό] μὴ βεβαίως [</i>
[ <i>ανδαιδειν</i> ]	[ <i>ὅτ]αν δ' ἀείδειν .[</i>
[ <i>.[.]'['..]</i> ]	[ <i>υπνο]υ [τόδ' ἀντίμολπον</i>
[ <i>.</i> ]	[ <i>.</i> ]
[ <i>.</i> ]	[ <i>.</i> ]
20 [ <i>νν</i> ]	[ <i>νῦ]ν</i>
[ <i>εν</i> ]	[ <i>εν]αγγέλου</i>
[ <i>ω</i> ]	[ <i>ω]χαῖρε</i>
[ <i>φα</i> ]	[ <i>φά]ος</i>
×	[ <i>πο</i> ] [ <i>ιον</i> ]
25 [ <i>αγα</i> ]	[ <i>Ἀγα]μέμνονος</i>
[ <i>ενη</i> ]	[ <i>εύ]ης</i>
[ <i>ολο</i> ]	[ <i>όλο]λυγμὸν</i>
[ <i>επ</i> ]	[ <i>ἐπ]ορθιάζειν</i>
30 [ <i>..</i> ]	[ <i>π].[</i> ]
[ <i>.</i> ]	[ <i>.</i> ]
[ <i>.</i> ]	[ <i>.</i> ]
[ <i>.</i> ]	[ <i>.</i> ]
35 [ <i>πε[πτωκεν</i> cannot be verified]	

2179. AESCHYLUS, *Seven against Thebes*.

The writing resembles, so far as I can judge from the facsimile published in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alexand.*, no. 28, that of P.S.I. 1208 (*Niobe*).

[ <i>πιμαιν</i> ]	155 δοριτίνακτος αἰθήρ ἔ]πιμαιν[εται.
[ <i>ιγενηςετα</i> ]	τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει,] τί γενήσεται[ι;
[ <i>θεοс</i> ]	ποῖ δ' ἔτι τέλος ἐπάγε]ι θεός;
[ <i>ωνλιθαс</i> ]	έε ἔε, ἀκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλξε]ων λιθὰς [

5 If ἔρχεται had been written, one would expect to see some of the ink

2180. SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Rex*.

Fr. II 16.5×7.5 cm.

Second century.

Fragments belonging to twelve columns of a roll containing the *Oedipus Rex*. The hand is an exceptionally fine and careful book-hand of the same type as the London *Odyssey* (Kenyon, *Palaeography*, Plate XV). Occasional accents, breathings, punctuation, &c., have been added by the original scribe; a second hand has added the scholium to l. 418. There were twenty lines to the column and the upper margin was not less than 7 cm. From the general description it seems very likely that P.S.I. 1192, the provenance of which is Oxyrhynchus, belonged to the same roll; in 2180 very little of the margin survives, which would explain why the scholia are so much more prominent in P.S.I. 1192.

The text is sound and careful; to judge from the scanty evidence at our disposal, the text has no particular affinities with any one MS. It may be noted that no changes or emendations of modern scholars, e.g. those of Wecklein in l. 420, Housman in l. 422, Pearson in l. 423 (see also note to l. 507), find any support. A new reading in l. 511 may be noted. At the end are printed a number of small and unplaced scraps (fr. 30-53), all in the same hand as the rest of the text; most of them probably belong to the *Oedipus Rex* (many of them could fit in one of several positions), but a few (nos. 31, 35, 37) almost certainly do not belong to this play.

Collated with Pearson's text (O.C.T.).

Frr. I-5.

[ <i>ποιο]υ γαρ ανδρο]ς τηνδε μηνυει τυχην]</i>
[ <i>ην η]μην αναξ [Λαιος ποθ γημων]</i>
[ <i>γης τησδ]ε πρὶν [σε τηνδ απευθυνειν πολιν]</i>
[ <i>εξοιδ ακου]ωγ [ου γαρ εισειδον γε πω]</i>
5 [ <i>τοντου θα]ον[τος ννη επι]στελ[λει σαφως]</i>
[ <i>τους αυτοεν]τας [χειρι τιμωρ]ειν τ[ια]</i>
[ <i>οι δ εισι που γης που τοδ ευρε]θησ[εται]</i>
[ <i>ιχνος παλαιας δυστε]κμ[αρτον αιτ]ια[s]</i>
[ <i>εν τηιδ εφασκε γηι το δε ζητου]μενο[v]</i>
10 [ <i>αλωτον εκφευγει δε ταμελουμ]ενον</i>
[ <i>ποτερα δ εν οικοις η ν αγροις ο Λαιος</i>
[ <i>η γης επ αλλης τωιδε συμπιπτει φ]ονω[i]</i>
[ <i>θεωρος ως ε]φασκ[εν εκδημω]γ πα[λω]</i>
[ <i>προς οικον] ουκέθ [ικεθ ως απε]σταλ[η]</i>
15 [ <i>ουδ αγγελος] τις ου[δε συμπρακτ]ωρ ο[δου]</i>
[ <i>κατειδ οπου] τις εκ[μαθων εχρ]ησατ α[v]</i>

105

110

115

[θηγισκουσι γαρ πλην εις τις] ος φοβω[ι φυγων]  
 [ων ειδε πλην εν ουδεν ειχ ε]ιδως φ[ρασαι]  
 [το ποιον εν γαρ πολλ αν εξε]ψοι μαθ[ειν]  
 20 [αρχην βραχειαν ει λαβοι]μ[εν ελπιδος]

120

Fr. 6.

[θανειν ελεχθη προς τινων οδοι]πόρων  
 [ηκουσα καιω τον δε δρωντ ουδεις ο]ραι  
 [αλλ ει τι μεν δη δειματος γ εχει μερος]

292

Fr. 7.

[αλλ ουξελεγ]ξων αυ[τον εστιν οιδε γαρ]  
 [τον θειον] ηδη μ[αντιν ωδ αγουσιν ωι]  
 [ταληθεις εμ]π[ε]φ[υκεν ανθρωπων μονω]

297

Fr. 8-9.

[ο μηδεν ειδως Οιδι]πους επαυσα [νιν]  
 [γνωμηι κυρησας ουδ α]π οιωνωγ [μαθων]  
 [ον δη συ πειραις εκβα]λειν δοκων [θρονοις]  
 [παραστατησειν τοι] Κρεοντειοις [πελας]  
 5 [κλαιων δοκεις μοι και] συ χω ξυνθε[ις ταδε]  
 [αγηλατησειν ει δε μη δ]όκεις [γερων]  
 [ειναι παθων εγνως αν] οια πε[ρ φρονεις]  
 [ημιν μεν εικαζουσι κα]ι τα το[υδ επη]

400

6 ll. lost

[ωστ ου Κρεοντος προστατου γεγ]ραψο[μαι]  
 10 [λεγω δ επειδη και τυφλον μ] ωνειδισ[ας]  
 [συ και δεδορκας κου βλεπει]ς ὥ ει κακ[ου]  
 [ουδ ενθα ναιεις ουδ οτω]ν οικεις μέτ[α]  
 [αρ οισθ αφ ων ει και λελ]ηθας εχθρος ω[ν]  
 [τοις σοισιν αυτου νερθ]ε και επι γης αγ[ω]

411

415

Fr. 10-11.

[και σ αμφιπλ]ηξ [μητρος τε] και απο σου πατρος  
 [ελαι ποτ εκ γ]ης τ[ησδε δεινο]’πους ἄρα χαλε) επο[  
 [βλεποντα ν]υν μ[εν ορθ επ]ειτα δε σκοτον.  
 [βοης δε της σης ποιος ουκ] εστ[αι λ]μην.

420

5 [ποιος Κιθαιρων ουχι συμφωνος τ]αχα  
 [οταν καταισθηι τον] υμε[ναιον ο]ν δομοις  
 [ανορμον εισεπλευσ]ας ευπλο[ιας τ]υχω[ν].  
 [αλλων δε πληθος ουκ] ε[πα]ισθα[νη]ι κακων  
 [οσ εξισωσεις σοι τε και τοις σο]ις τεκνοις

425

10 [προς ταυτα και Κρεοντα και] τ[ο]υμον στομα  
 [προπηλακιζε σοι γαρ ουκ εστ]ι βροτων  
 [κακιον οστις εκτριβησετα]ι ποτε

430

[η ταυτα δητ ανεκτα προς το]υτου κλιψεων  
 [ουκ εις ολεθρον ουχι θασσο]η ον παλιν  
 15 [αφορρος οικων τωνδ αποστ]ραφεις άπει  
 [ουδ ικομην εγων αν ει συ μη] κάλεις  
 [ου γαρ τι σ ηδη μωρα φωνησο]ητ επει ηδη  
 [σχοληι σ αν οικους τους εμους εσ]τειλαμην  
 [ημεις τοιοιδ εφυμεν ως μεν σοι δ]οκει  
 20 [μωροι γονευσι δ οι σ εφυσαν εμφρον]ες

435

Fr. 12-13.

[ποι]οισ[ι μεινον τις δε μ εκφυει] βροτων  
 η[δη]με[ρα φυσει σε και διαφθερει]  
 ω[σ παντ αγαν αινικτα κασαφη λεγει]ς  
 ου[κουν συ ταυτ αριστος ευρισκειν ε]φυς

440

5 τ[οια]η[τ ονειδιζ οις εμ ευρησεις μεγαν]  
 αύτη γε μ[εντοι σ η τυχη διωλεσεν]  
 αλλ ει πολ[ιν τηηδ εξεωσ ου μοι μελει]

445

απειμι τοι[νυν και συ παι κομιζε με]  
 κομιζετω [δηθ ως παρων συ γ εμποδων]  
 10 οχλεις· σν[θεις τ αν ουκ αν αλγυναις πλεον]  
 ειπων άπει[μι ων ουνεκ ηλθον ου το σον]  
 δειστις προσω[πον ου γαρ εσθ οπου μ ολεις]

- [λ]εγω δε σοι το[ν ανδρα τουτον ον παλαι]  
 ζητεις απειλ[ων κανακηρυσσων φονον]  
 15 [τ]ον Δαιειογ· οι[τος εστιν ενθαδε]  
 ξεν[ο]ς λογω[ι] με[τοικος ειτα δ εγγενης]  
 φαν[η]σεται [Θ]ηβ[αιος ουδη ησθησεται]  
 τηι ξυμφορα[ι τυφλος γαρ εκ δεδορκοτος]  
 και πτωχος α[ντι πλουσιου ξενην επι]  
 20 [σκηπτρωι] πρ[οδεικνυς γαιαν εμπορευσεται]

450

455

Fr. 14-16.

- [φανησεται δε παισι τοις αυτον ξυνω[ν]  
 [αδελφος αυτος και πατηρ και ης] εφυ  
 [γυναικος υιος και ποσις και του] πατρο[ς]  
 [ομοσπορος τε] και φ[ονευς] και τ[α]υτ<sup>3</sup> ω[ν]  
 5 [εισω λογι]ζ[ο]υ· καν λ[αβητις] εψε[υσμενον]  
 [φασκε]ω ε[μ]ηδη μ[αντικη] μη[δεν φρονεων]  
 [τις] δν[τιν]α[.....].  
 [.....].  
 [.....]τ[ελεσαν]τα  
 10 [φοινιαισι] χε[ρσιν]  
 [.....].  
 . . . . .  
 7 ll. lost  
 [.....].  
 [φαμα] Παρη[ασσον τον αδη]

460

475

Fr. 17.

- απονοσ]φιζων  
 ]  
 ]  
 ταρασ]σει

480

Fr. 18.

- [παραμ]ει[ψειεν ανηρ]  
 [α]λλ ουποτ εγω[γ αν]

- πριν [ι]δοιμ' ο[ρθον επος μεμ]  
 φομενων α[ν καταφαιην]  
 5 φανερα [γαρ επ αυτω]  
 πτεροεσσ η[λθε κορα]  
 πο[τε] και σ[οφος αφθη]  
 βασανωι θ<sup>3</sup> [ηδυπολις]  
 των απ εμ[ας φρενος ου]  
 10 πο[τ]<sup>3</sup> οφλη[σει κακιαν]

505

510

Fr. 19-25.

- [ανδρες πολιτ]α[ι δειν] επη πε[πυσμενος]  
 [κατηγορειν μ]οι τοι τυρανη[ον Οιδιπον]  
 [παρεμι ατλη]των· ει γαρ ει [ταις ξυ]μφ[οραις]  
 [ταις νυν νομι]ζει προς τ [εμου] πεπο[νθεναι]  
 5 [λογοισιν ειτ ερ]γ[ισιν ε[σ βλα]βην φερον  
 [ουτοι βιοι μοι του μ]α[κραι]ωνος ποθος  
 [φε]ρ[ο]ντ[ι τηνδε βαξιν ου] γαρ εις άπλ[ουν]  
 [η] ζημια μ[οι του λογου] τουτον φερε[ι]  
 [α]λλ εις μ[εγιστον ει κα]κος μεν ειν [πολει]  
 10 [κακος δε προς σου και φι]λωρ [κεκλησομαι]  
 [αλλ ηλθε μεν δη τουτο τ]ουν[ειδος ταχ αν]  
 [οργηι βιασθ]ειν [μαλλο]ν η γνω[μηι φρενων]  
 [του] προς δ [εφαν]θη ται[ς] εμαις γνω[μαις οτι]  
 [πε]ισθεις [ο] μαντις τους λ[ογ]ους ψ[ευδεις λεγοι]  
 15 η[υ]δατο [μεν ταδ] οδη[α δ ον γ]γω[μηι τιν]  
 [ε]ξ ομμα[των] δ ορθω[ν τε καξ ορθης φρενος]  
 κατη[γορει]το τ[ο]υ[πικλημα τουτο μοι]  
 ουκ οιδ ά [γ]αρ δρωσι [οι κρατουντες ουχ ορω]  
 [ο]γ[τος] συ [π]ωσ [δε]υρ [ηλθεις η τοσονδ εχεις]  
 . . . . .

515

520

525

530

532

Fr. 26-8.

- [ει μεν λεγει ταδ αυτος οισθ εγω δε σ]ου  
 [μαθειν δικαιω τανθ απερ καμου συ] νυν

575

[εκμανθαν ον γαρ δη φονευς αλωσ]ομαι  
[τι δητ αδελφ]η[ν την εμην γημας εχ]εις  
5 [αρνησις ου]κ ενεστιν [ων ανιστορεις]  
[αρχεις δ εκει]νηι τα[υτα γης ισον νεμων]  
[αν ηι θελουσα] π[αντ εμου κομιζεται]

580

1. lost

[ενταυθα γ]αρ δ[η και κακος φαινη φιλος]  
[ουκ ει δι]δόνη[ς γ ως εγω σαντω λογον]  
10 [σκεψαι] δε το[υτο πρωτον ει τιν αν δοκεις]  
[αρχειν] ελεσθ[αι ξυν φοβοισι μαλλον η]  
[απρεστ]ον έν[δοντ ει τα γ ανθ εξει κρατη]  
[εγω μεν] ουν [ουτ αυτος ιμειρων εφυν

585

Fr. 29.

τ[α δ ουν προδοντα συλλαβων θεσπισματα]  
κ[ειται παρ Αιδηι Πολυβος αξι ουδενος]  
ο[υκον εγω σοι ταντα προυλεγον παλαι]  
η[υδας εγω δε τωι φοβωι παρηγομην]

971

Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.	Fr. 32.	Fr. 33.
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
]δ[	a[	]λ[	]απο[
]οσ[	κ.[	]ο[	]ατο[
]ντα[	αλ[	]ν·ε[	]υν[
]νεχ[	δ'ο[	]στ[	· ·
5 ]..[	5 ]ι[	· ·	· ·

Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.	Fr. 38.
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
]τω[	]διαφ[	]το[	]..]ν[	]εχ[
]ον[	]ατακ[	]γκα[	]φυε[	]το[
]ηντη[	]τ[.]..[	]σα[	]πλη[	]υ[
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·

Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
]σ..[	]πυρ[	]υντ[	]οσ[	]ων
]ασαρ[	]ομ[	]λεγ[	]εξ[	· ·
]νρ.[	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
]ντα[	]ουν[	]λ[	]ν[	]τακατε[
]νδ[	.[.	]λ[	]ψεν[	· ·
· ·	· ·	]ι[	.[.	· ·
Fr. 49.	Fr. 50.	Fr. 51.	Fr. 52.	Fr. 53.
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·
]φι[	]λεγ[	.[.	]κετ[	]λ[
· ·	· ·	· ·	]νμ[	]ω[
· ·	· ·	· ·	· ·	]να[

Fr. 1-5 11 The diaeresis over the ι of Λαιος is visible.

Fr. 7 1 ουξελεγχων: so L<sup>28</sup>A rec.; ούξελέγχων rec.Fr. 10-11 1 All the MSS. here read μητρός τε και τοῦ σοῦ πατρός. Jebb explains the genitives either as being causal after ἀμφιπλήξ or as dependent upon ἀρά and compares Aesch. *Septem*: 'Ερωντος πατρός ή μεγασθενής. The *πατρός* of the papyrus may have crept into the text from a marginal note; but the *τοῦ σοῦ* of the MSS. is weak and κάποιο may well be the right reading. The correction from *σον* to *τον* was made by the first hand.

2 Perhaps χαλε(πως) επο[μενη], a gloss on δευόπους; but the reading of the second word is far from certain. The horizontal stroke of the π appears to be broken in the middle, but this looks as if it may be due to a slip of the pen. Alternatively, ειτ[. or even εφτ[. might be read.

14 αυ παλιν 32 (corr. to ov).

17 The marginal reading suggests that ηδη stood in the text.

Fr. 14-16 7 seqq. I have not supplied the text in these lines as it is not certain how they were divided.

Fr. 18 5 From the length of the line it is fairly certain that the words in brackets stood in the text; they were omitted by Dindorf and Hermann (in his first edition), while Triclinius retained only γαρ.

9 The reading των, not recorded elsewhere, has much to recommend it against the τροφ of the MSS.; it avoids the hiatus (to avoid which Elmsley suggested πρός) and may either be translated 'therefore' (as is τροφ), or might be construed as a causal genitive after κακίαν.

Fr. 19-25 4 προς τ εμου: so L<sup>c</sup>A rec.; πρός γ' ἐμοῦ rec. Suidas.13 τον προς δ: so L rec.; πρός τοῦ δ' A rec.; τοῦπος δ' T<sup>LB</sup>.

16 εξ ομματων δ ορθων τε: so rec. Suidas (followed by Jebb); εξ ομμάτων ορθῶν δὲ L rec. (followed by Pearson); εξ ομμάτων ορθῶν τε A rec.

18 The omission of l. 531 must be accidental.

2181. PLATO, *Phaedo*.

Width of column 10 cm.

Later second century.

Numerous fragments from a roll containing the *Phaedo*, written in a slightly sloping, elegant hand, the letters of which vary considerably in size. The writing was compressed, with about 40 letters to the line and 57 lines to the column; the whole dialogue could have been comprised in a roll of moderate compass. For punctuation the double point or colon and the middle point are used, the latter in erratic fashion, the former to mark the end of a speech or some other important pause; a change of speaker is indicated by the paragraphus. There are occasional accents and breathings.

The surviving fragments (which never combine to make a single entire line) are scattered throughout the last two-thirds of the dialogue; in addition to those which have been identified, there is a large number of unplaced scraps, many of which might belong to one of several passages, and of these all those containing more than two or three letters have been given below. The text is carefully written (adscript iota is always written) and sound; as usual, it may be classed as eclectic, that is to say, it will be occasionally found to agree with the unique readings of B, T, and W without showing a marked affinity to any of them. In the few places where it coincides with the early Petrie papyrus, it does not share the latter's eccentricities. The new readings it offers are only of minor importance, except where it appears to confirm in 100 d (if a small fragment is correctly placed) Wyttenbach's suggested *προσαγορευομένη* for the *προσγενομένη* of the MSS. The Oxford text of Burnet has been used for collation.

Fr. 1.

λε]γω : τα[ντον  
βουλε]ται [[η]] δη[λωσαι  
αισθη]σεων δε[ι  
5 αισθησ]εσιν εκ[εινου  
].[

75 a

επιστημ]ην αγ[των  
γεγοναμ]εν : ον δ[ητα  
Σιμ]ιμα αι ψ[υχαι  
ειδει χω[ρις

76 c

Fr. 4.

τοιαυτ]η ουσια και ε[πι  
] παντα ανα[φερομεν  
ανε]γρισκοντες[  
εκειν]ηι απεικ[αζομεν  
5 τ]αυτα εστ[ιν  
].[

76 d

δια]σκεδ[αννυται  
] τελος γηι:  
συ]ριστασθαι  
5 ανθρωπε]ιον σω  
απ]αλλαγη  
δι]αφ[θ]ει

77 b

2181. PLATO, *PHAEDO*2181. PLATO, *PHAEDO*

## Fr. 5.

Σιμ]ιμα[  
ωσ]περ[  
]ην ημ[ων  
] ετι[  
5 ηττ]ον εστ[αι  
αποδε]ιξις ε[ξειν  
] Κε[βης

77 c

## Fr. 6.

]εφη[  
]ως ημω[ν  
]παις οστις[  
πειρω]μεθα πειθ[ειν  
5 ] μορμολυκ[εια

77 e

## Fr. 7.

] των πρ[οσθεν  
ομοιοτ]ερον ειναι κ[αι  
] η δ os συγχ[ωρησαι  
μεθοδο]η και ο δυσμ[αθεστατος  
5 ε]στι ψυχη τ[ωι  
] τι δε το σ[ωμα  
αρχ]εσθατη[

79 d

## Fr. 8.

ε]φηι ο K[εβης  
] ακαθα[ρτος  
σω]ματι α[ει  
]....[

81 a

b

## Fr. 9-11.

[ται δε ωσ]περ [εικος εις τοιαυτα ηθη οποι αττ αν]  
[και μεμελ]ετηκ[υιαι τυχωσιν εν τω βιω τα ποια]  
[δη ταυτ]α λε[γεις ω Σωκρ]ατε[σ οιον τους μεν]  
[γαστρι]μαργυα[σ τε και υ]βρει[σ και φιλοποσιας]  
5 [μεμελετηκ]οτας [και μη δε]ενλα[βουσμενους εις τα των]  
[οιων γ]εν[η] και τ[ων τοι]ουτω[ν θηριων εικος ε]νδυ[εσ]  
[θαι η ουκ οιει παν]η μεν [οιν εικος λεγεις] τους [δε]  
[γε αδικιας τε και τ]υρανη[ιδας και αρπαγ]ας προτε  
[τιμηκοτας εις τα των] λυκ[ων τε και ιερα]κ[ων και]

81 e

82

Fr. 12-14.

[τας τοιαυτας ιεναι] αμ[ελει εφη ο Κεβης εις τα τοι]  
 [αυτα ουκουν η δ οσ] δηλα [δη και ταλλα η]ι α[ν εκαστα]  
 [ιοι κατα τας αυτ]ων [ο]μοι[στητας της] μελε[της δη]  
 [λον δη εφη πω]ς δ ου: ουκ[ουν ευδαι]μονεστα[τοι εφη]  
 5 [και τουτων εισ] και εις βε[λτιστον τ]οπον ιο[ντες οι]  
 [την δημοτι]κην τε και πο[λιτικην α]ρετην ε[πιτετη]  
 [δευκοτες ην] δη καλουσι σω[φροσυνη]ην τε κα[ι δικαιο]  
 [συνην εξ εθου]ς τε και μελ[ετης γεγο]νυιαν α[γεν φιλο]  
 [σοφιας τε κ]αι νοι[η πη δη ουτοι ευ]δαιμον[εστατοι]  
 10 [οτι τουτους εικος εσ]τιν ει[σ τοιουτο]ν παλιν α[φικνε]  
 [σθαι πολιτικο]ν κ[αι] ημερ[ο]ν [γενος η πο]γ μελι[ττων]  
 [η σφηκων η] μυρμηκων: η [και εις ταν]τον γ[ε παλιν]  
 [το αν]θρω[π]νον [γ]ενος και [γιγνεσθαι ε]ξ α[υτων αν]  
 [δ]ρα[σ] μετριους: εικ[ος ει]ς δε [γε θεων γενος μη φιλο]  
 15 [σο]φησα[ν]τι και παντελ[ως κ]αθ[αρωι απιοντι ου θεμις]  
 [α]φικνεισ[θαι] αλ[λ]ωι η τωι φιλο[μαθει αλλα τουτων ενεκα]  
 ω εταιρε Συμμια τε και Κ[εβης οι ορθως φιλοσοφοι απε]  
 χοι[τ]αι των κ[ατα] το [σωμα επιθυμιων απασων και]  
 καρτερουσι [κ]αι ου παραδιδοασιν αυταις εαυτους ου τι]  
 20 οικοφθοριαγ [τε και πενιαν φοβουμενοι ωσπερ οι πολλοι]  
 [και] φιλοχρη[ματοι ουδε αν απιμιαν τε και αδοξ]ιαγ  
 [μοχθηριας δεδιοτες ωσπερ οι φιλαρ]χοι τε και φιλ[ο]  
 [τιμοι επειται απεχονται αυτων ου γαρ] αν πρεπο[ι]  
 [εφη ω Σωκρατει ο Κεβης ου μεντοι μα Δια] η δ οσ [: το[ι]]  
 25 [γαρτοι τουτοις μεν απασιν ω Κεβης εκει]γοις δις [τι μελει]  
 [της εαυτων ψυχης αλλα μη σωματι π]λαττο[ντες]  
 [ζωσι χαιρειν ειποντες ου κατα ταυτα π]ορευ[ονται αν]  
 [τοις ως ουκ ειδοσιν οπηι ερχονται αυτοι δ]ε ηγ[ουμε]  
 [νοι ου δειν εναντια τηι φιλοσοφαι πραττειν] και [τη εκει]  
 30 [νης λυσει τε και καθαρμωι ταυτηι τρεπο]γτα[ι εκει]  
 [νηι επομενοι ηι εκεινη υφηγειται] πως [ω Σωκρα]  
 [τει εγω εφη γιγνωσκονοι γαρ οι] φιλο[μαθεις]

82 a

b

c

d

e

[οτι παραλαβονσα αυτων την ψυχην η φι]λοσ[οφια]  
 [ατεχνως διαδεδμενην εν τω σωματι κα]ι προ[σκε]  
 35 [κολλημενην αναγκαζομενην δε ωσπερ] δι έργ[μου]

e

Fr. 15.

αυτο]υς θρη[νουντας  
 ] και ου[  
 ] η βιγ[ωι

85 a

κ]α[ι ε]ρω[ταν  
 ] καλως εφη [  
 απο]ρω και αν οδ[ε  
 γ]αρ δοκει ω Σω[κρατεις]

85 b

c

Fr. 16.

[τω]γ ισως ω[σπερ και σοι το μεν σαφεις ειδεναι εν τωι]  
 νυν βιωι η αδυν[ατον ειναι η παγχαλεπον τι το μεν]  
 τοι τα λεγομεν[α περι αυτων μη ουχι παντι τροπωι]  
 ελεγχειν και μη π[ροαφιστασθαι πριν αν πανταχηι]

85 c

5 σκοπων απειπηι τις [πανν μαλθακου ειναι αιδρος]  
 δειν γαρ περι αυτα εν γ[ε τι τουτων διαπραξασθαι]  
 η μαθειν οπηι εχει. η [ευρειν η ει ταυτα αδυνατον]  
 [το]ν γουν βελτιστον τ[ων ανθρωπινων λογων λαβον]  
 [τα] και δυσελεγκτοτ[ατον επι τουτου οχουμενον]

d

10 [ωσ]περ επι σχεδιας κ[ινδυνευοντα διαπλευσαι τον]  
 [βι]ον· ει μη τις δυνατ[αι ασφαλεστερον και ακιν]  
 [δυ]νοτερον επι βεβαιο[τερον οχηματος λογου θειου]  
 [τ]μος διαπορευθητ[αι και δη και νυν εγωγε ουκ ε]  
 [π]αισχυνθησομαι ερε[σθαι επειδη και συ ταυτα λεγεις]

e

15 [ο]υδε εμαυτον αιτια[σομαι εν υστερωι χρονω οτι]  
 [ν]υν ουκ ειπον α μοι εδ[οκει εμοι γαρ ω Σωκρατεις]  
 [ε]πειδη και προς εμαυτο[ν και προς τονδε σκοπω τα ει]  
 [ρ]ημενα· ου πανν φαι[νεται ικανως ειρησθαι και ο]  
 [Σωκρ]ατης: ισως γαρ ε[φη ω εταιρε αληθη φαινε]

20 [ται αλ]λα λεγε οπηι δη [ουχ ικανως ταυτηι εμοι]  
 [γε η δ ος η] δη και περι α[ρμονιας αν τις και λυρας τε]  
 [και χορδω]ν· τον αυτο[ν τουτον λογον ειποι ως]  
 [η μεν αρμ]ονια αορατ[ον και ασωματον και παγκα]

I

[λον τι και] θειον εστιν [εν τηι ηρμοσμενη λυραι]  
 25 [αυτη δη λυρα και αι χορ[δαι σωματα τε και σωματοειδη]  
 [και συνθε]τα και γεωδ[η εστι και του θητου συγ]  
 [γενη επ]ειδαν οιν η[ καταξηι τις την λυραν η]  
 [διατεμη]η η διαρρηξ[ηι τας χορδας ει τις διυσχη]  
 [ριζοιτο] τωι αυτωι λο[γωι ωσπερ συ ωσ αναγκη]  
 30 [ετι ειναι την αρ]μ[ονιαν εκεινην και μη απολω]

Fr. 18.

[ασθενεστερον ετι ον το] δε πο[λυχρονιωτερον ου δοκει]  
 [σοι αναγκαιον ειναι ε]τι [σ]ωιζ[εσθαι εν τοντωι τωι χρο]  
 [νωι προς δη τουτ]ο τοδε επι[σκεψαι ει τι λεγω εικονος]  
 [γαρ τινος ωσ εο]ικεν καγω [ωσπερ Σιμμιας δεομαι εμοι]  
 5 [γαρ δοκει ομοιως]· λ[ε]γεσθ[α]η [ταυτα ωσπερ αν τις περι]  
 [ανθρωπου υφ[α]γτου πρεσβυ[του αποθανοντος λεγοι]  
 [τουτον] τον λογον οτι ουκ απολ[ωλεν ο ανθρωπος αλλ]  
 [εστι που] σωι: τεκμηριογ δε παρ[εχοιτο θοιματιον ο ημ]  
 [πειχετο] αυτος υφηναμενος [ο]τι ε[στι σων και ουκ απο]  
 10 [λωλεν κ]αι ει τις απιστων αυ[τ]ω[ι ανερωτωιη ποτερον]  
 [πολυχρο]νιωτερον εστιν το γεν[ος ανθρωπου η ιμα]  
 [τιου εν χρει]αι τε οντος και φορουμ[ενου αποκρινα]  
 [μενου δη τιν]ος οτι πολυ το του ανθ[ρωπου οιοιτο αποδε]  
 [δειχθαι οτι παν]τος αρα μαλλον ο γε αγ[θρωπος σως εσ]  
 15 [τιν επειδη το γ]ε ολιγοχρονιωτερον [ουκ απολωλεν το δ οι]  
 [μαι ουκ ουτως εχει σκ]οπει γαρ και συ ἄ [λεγω πας αν υπολαβοι]  
 [οτι ευηθες] λεγει ο [τ]ουτο λεγων ο [γαρ υφαντης ουτος]  
 [πολλα κατατριψα] τοιαυτα ιμα[τια και υφηναμε]  
 [νος εκεινων μεν υστ]ερος απολω[λεν πολλων οντων]  
 20 [του δε τελευταιου οι]μαι προτερο[s και ουδεν τι μαλ]  
 [λον τουτου ενεκα ανθρ]ωπος εστι[ιν ψιατιον φαυλοτε]  
 [ρον ουδ ασθενεστερον]: την αυτ[ην δε ταυτην οιμαι]  
 [εικονα δεξαιτ αν ψυ]χη προς σωμ[α και τις λεγων]  
 [αυτα ταυτα περι αυτ]ων· μετρι αν [μοι φαινοιτο λε]

25 [γενιν ως η μεν ψυχη] πολυχρονιον ε[στι το δε σωμα ασ]  
 [θενεστερον και ολιγοχρον]ιωτερ[ον αλλα γαρ αν]  
 [φαιη εκαστην των ψυχων πολλα] σωμα[τα κατατριψειν]  
 [αλλως τε καν πολλα ετη βιωι ε]ι γαρ ρε[οι το σωμα]

Fr. 19.

ξ[αι εα]γπερ [μεινηι ηδε η οιησις το αρμονιαν μεν]  
 ειναι συνθ[ετον πραγμα ψυχην δε αρμονιαν τι]  
 να εκ των [κατα το σωμα εντεταμενων συγκει]  
 σθαι: ου γαρ [που αποδεξηι γε σαντου λεγοντος ως] 92 b  
 5 προτερον [ην αρμονια συγκειμενη πριν εκεινα]  
 ει[ναι εξ αν εδει αυτην συντεθηναι η αποδε]  
 ξει· ουδαμ[ως εφη ω Σωκρατες αισθανηι ουν η δ οι]  
 ετι ταυτα [σοι συμβανειν λεγειν οταν φης μεν]  
 ειναι την [ψυχην πριν και εις ανθρωπου ειδος τε]  
 10 και σωμα α[φικεσθαι ειναι δε αυτην συγκειμενη]  
 εκ των ουδε[πω οντων ου γαρ δη αρμονια γε σοι τοιον]  
 τον εστιν [ωι απεικαζεις αλλα προτερον και η λυρα]  
 και αι χορδα[ι και οι φθογγοι ετι αναρμοστοι οντες γι] c  
 5 α· γνονται· τ[ελευταιον δε παντων συνισταται η αρ]  
 15 μονια· και [πρωτον απολλυται ουτος ουν σοι ο λογος]  
 εκεινωι π[ως συναιστει ουδαμως εφη ο Σιμμι]  
 ας: κα[ι] μην [η δ οι πρεπει γε ειπερ τωι αλλωι λογωι]  
 ξυνωιδωι [ειναι και τωι περι αρμονιας πρεπει]  
 γαρ εφη [ο] Σιμμιας ουτος τοινυ εφη σοι ου συνωι]  
 20 δος: αλ[η ορα ποτερον αιρηι των λογων την μαθη]  
 σιν ανα[μηησιν ειναι η ψυχην αρμονιαν πολυ]  
 μαλλογ[ εφη εκεινον ω Σωκρατες οδε μεν γαρ]  
 μοι γεγοφ[εν ανευ αποδεξεως μετα εικοτος]  
 τιως κα[ι ευπρεπειας οθεν και τοις πολλοις δο]  
 25 κει ανθρω[ποις εγω δε τοις δια των εικοτων τας]  
 αποδειξε[ις] ποιου[μ]ε[νοις λογοις συνοιδα ουσιν αλα]  
 ζοσιν: και [ε]α[ν] τις αυτ[ους μη φυλαττηται εν μα]  
 λα· εξαπατ[ωσ]ιν και [εν γεωμετριαι και εν τοις]

αλλοις απασιν: ο δε π[ερι της αναμνησεως και]  
 30 μαθησεως λογος δι υπ[οθεσεως αξιας αποδεξασ]  
 [θαι ειρ]η[ται]: ερρηθη [γαρ που ουτως ημων ειναι]  
 [η ψυχη και] πριν εις σωμ[α αφικεσθαι ωσπερ αυτης]  
 [εστιν η ουσι]α εχουσα τη[ν επωνυμιαν την του]  
 [ο εστιν εγ]ω δε ταυτην ω[σ εμαυτον πειθω ικανως]  
 35 [τε και ορ]θως αποδεδεγ[μαι αναγκη ουν μοι ως]  
 [εοικε δια] ταυτα μητε εμ[αυτου μητε αλλου απο]  
 [δεχεσθαι] λεγοντ[ο]ς ω[σ ψυχη εστιν αρμονια τι]  
 [δε η δ ος ω Σι]μμια: τηιο[ε δοκει σοι αρμονια η]

Fr. 20.

[ουδ ηττον αλλη αλλ]ης α[υτο τουτο ψυχη εστιν]  
 [ουδε δη μαλλον ου]δε ηττο[ν ηρμοσται ουτω]  
 [τουτο δε γε πεπονθ]υια ουδεγ πλεογ [αναρμοστι]  
 [ας ουδε αρμονιας με]τεχοι αψ: ου γα[ρ ουν τουτο]  
 5 [δ αυ πεπονθια] αρ αψ [τι π]λεον κα[κιας η αρετης]  
 [μετεχοι ετερα ετε]ρας ειπερ η μεγ [κακια αναρμο]  
 [τια η δε αρετη αρ]μονια ειη [ουδεν πλεον μαλ]  
 [λον δε γε που ω Σι]μμια κατα τογ [ορθον λογον]  
 [κακιας ουδεμια ψυχη με]θεξει ειπερ αρμο[νια αρρο]  
 10 [νια γαρ δηπου παντελως αν]το τουτο [ουσα αρμονια]  
 [αναρμοστιας ουποτ αν μετα]σχοι: ου μεν[τοι ουδε]  
 [γε δηπου ψυχη ουσα παντελ]ως ψυχη κακ[ας πως]  
 [γαρ εκ των προειρημεν]ωψ: εκ τουτο[ν αρα του λογου]  
 [ημιν πασαι ψυχαι παντ]ων ζωιων ομ[οιως αγαθαι]  
 15 [εσονται ειπερ ομοιως] ψυχαι πεφυκασι[ν αυτο]

Fr. 21.

] το αριστο[ν  
 ] τον αυτον [  
 ] γαρ ειναι [  
 λογιζ]ομ[ενος  
 5 τη]ς α[ιτιας

97 d

εγ]ωιμαι παλαι αν τα[υτα 98 e  
 Με]γαρα η περι Βοιωτο[ν] 99  
 βελ]τιστου: ει μη δ[ικαιοτερον  
 ] προ του φευγειν [  
 5 ] πολει δικην ημ[τιν  
 τοι]αυτα καλειν λ[ιαν

Fr. 22.

Fr. 23.  
 . . .  
 απτε]σθα[ι 99 e  
 κατα]φυγον[τα  
 αληθει]αν: ισ[ως  
 ] ου γαρ [ 100  
 5 σκοπουμεν]ον τ[α  
 αλ]λ ουψ [  
 ] λογ[ον  
 ] μ[εν

το]ψ τα τοιαυτα εχ[ειν  
 εχ]ω ουκ αν οιος τ η] π[οιειν  
 ] ταντα ποιω α π[οιω

Fr. 24-7.

[πολυθρυλητ]α· και α[ρχομαι απ εκεινων υποθεμενος]  
 [ειναι τι καλο]ν αντ[ο καθ αυτο και αγαθον και μεγα και]  
 [ταλλα παν]τα: ά ει [μοι διδως τε και συγχωρεις ειναι]  
 [ταυτα ελ]πιζω σε [εκ τουτων την αιτιαν επιδειξειν]  
 5 5 [και ανε]μηρησιν [ως αθανατο]ν ψυχη [αλλα μην εφη]  
 [ο Κεβης] ως διδ[οντος σοι ουκ α]ν φθανο[ις περαιωνω]  
 [σκοπει δη εφη τα εκεινοις εξ]ης εαν σ[οι συνδοκη]  
 [ωσπερ εμοι φαινεται γαρ μοι ε]ι τι εστ[ιν αλλο κα]  
 [λον πληην αυτο το καλον ουδε] δι εν αλλο κ[αλον ειναι]  
 10 10 [η διοτι μετεχει εκεινου του] καλου [και παντα δη ον]  
 [τως λεγω τηι τοιαιδε αιτιαι] συγχωρ[εις συγχωρω εφη]  
 [ου τοινυ η δ ος ετι μ]ανθανω ουδε [δυναμαι τας]  
 [αλλας αιτιας τας σοφας τ]αντας γιγνωσ[κειν αλλ εαν]  
 [τις μοι λεγη δι οτι καλ]ον εστιν οτιο[νη η χρωμα]  
 15 15 [ευανθες εχον η σ]χημα· η αλλο [οτιουν των]  
 [τοιουτων τα μεν αλλα χαι]ρειν εω· ταρ[απτομαι γαρ]  
 [εν τοι]ς [αλλοις πασι τοντο]ρ δε απλως και α[τεχνως και]  
 [ισω]ς ειψ[ηθως εχω παρ] εμαυτωι· οτι ου[κ αλλο τι ποιει]  
 [αυτο] καλο[ν η η εκεινου τ]οψ καλου ει[τε παρουσια ειτε]  
 20 20 [κοιν]ωνια [ειτε οπη δη και οπως προσ]αγο[ρευομενη ου]  
 [γαρ ε]τι [τουτο δισχυριζομαι αλλ οτι] τω[ι καλω παν]  
 [τα τ]α καλα κ[αλα τουτο γαρ μοι δοκει ασφαλεστατον ειναι]  
 [και ε]μαι[τωι αποκρινασθαι και αλλωι και του]  
 [του εχομενος ηγουμαι ουκ α]γ π[οτε πεσει]

100 b

c

d

e

## Fr. 28.

ταυ]τα· κα[ι 101 b 5 πηχνα]ων ημι[σει  
τ]α δεκα[ ]που φοβο[ς  
ταυτη]ν την α[ιτιαν ]την π[ροσθεσιν  
μ]η πληθ[ει]

## Fr. 29.

εωιης αν χαιρειν π[αρεις αποκρινασθαι] τοις σαντου  
σοφωτεροις συ δε δεδ[ικιας αν το λεγομ]ενου την σαν  
του σκιαν και την απ[ει]ρ[ιαν εχομε]γ[ο]ς εκεινου του  
ασφαλους της υπ[ο]θεσεω[ς ουτως α]ποκρινοι αν: ει  
5 δε τις αυτη]ς τη]ς υποθε[σεως εχοιτ]ο χαιρειν εωιης  
αν· και ουκ α[πο]κριναιο εω[ς αν τα απ εκει]νης ορμηθεντα  
σκεψαιο ει φ[οι αλληλοις συμφωνει η] διαφωνει: [ε]πει  
δη δε εκειν[ης αυτης δεοι σε διδοναι λ]ογον ωσαντω[ς]  
[αν] διδουης [αλλην αν υποθεσιν υποθε]μενος ή τις τ[ων]

10 [αν]ωθεν βε[λτιστη φαινοιτο εως επι] τι ικανον ελ>  
[θο]ις: αμα [δε ουκ αν φυροιο ωσπερ οι αντι]λογυκοι περι  
[τ]ε της αρ[χης διαλεγομενος και των εξ εκει]γης ωρ  
[μ]ημε[νων ειπερ βουλοιο τι των οντων ευρει]ν: εκει  
νοι[ς] μεν γαρ [ιτ]ως ου]δε εις περι τουτου λογος ου]δε  
15 φροντις ικανοι γαρ γ[πο σοφιας ομου παντα κυκ]ων  
τες δημως δυνασθ[αι αυτοις αρεσκειν συ] δ ει  
περ ει [τ]ων φιλοσ]οφ[ων οιμαι αν ως εγω λεγω ποιοι]ς:  
αληθεο[τατα εφη λεγεις ο τε Συμμιας αμα και ο Κεβ]ης:  
νη Δια ω Φ[αιδων εικοτως γε θαυμαστως γαρ μοι δοκ]ει  
20 ως εναργω[ς τωι και σμικρον νουν εχοντι ειπειν]  
εκεινος τ[αυτα παν] μεν ουν ω Εχεκρατες και πα]  
σι τοις [παρουσιν] εδοξειρ κ[αι γαρ ημιν τοις απουσι]  
νην [δ]ε ακ[ονουσι]ν: αλλα τ[ινα δη ην τα μετα ταυτα]  
λεχθε[ντα ω]ς μεν εγω [οιμαι επει αυτωι ταυτα]  
25 συνε[χωρηθη και] ωμολ[ογειτο ειναι τι εκαστον]  
τ[ων ειδων και τον]των ταλ[λα μεταλαμβανοντα]  
[αυτων τουτων τ]ην επωνυμ[αν ισχειν το δη μετα]  
[ταυτα ηρωτα ε]ι δη η δ ος τα[υτα ουτως λεγεις αρ]  
[ουχ οταν Συμμιαν] Σωκρατο[υς φηις μειζω ειναι]

## Fr. 30.

υπερε]χ[ειν] 102 b 102 d  
ουτω κα[ι  
πεφυκεν]αι Συμμιαν c  
]: αλλα τωι μεγε  
5 Σωκρατο]υς υπερεχειν  
]ο[τι] σμικροτη  
μεγε]θ[ο]ς [: αλη  
υπερεχεσθα]ι τω[ι ο]τι  
μεγε]θος εχ[ει ο]  
10 ]: εστι [ταν]  
εχ]ει σμικ[ρος  
αμφοτε]ρων τ[ου]  
σμικρο]ητα ψ[πε] d

## Fr. 32.

] απολλυ[ται εν] 103 103 c  
εφ]η ο Κεβης [ουτω]  
παροντ]ων ακοι[σας]  
πρ]ος θεων ο[υ]κ ε[ν]  
5 εναν]τιον των ν[υν]  
ελατ]τονος το [μει]  
ελα]ττον: και  
εναντιοις] εκ των  
] ου[κ]

## Fr. 31. Col. ii.

και ψυχ[ρο]ν: [αληθη εφη λεγεις εστιν αρα η δ ος περι]  
ενια των τοιου[των ωστε μη μονον αυτο το ειδος αξι]  
ουσθαι του εαυτου [ονοματος εις τον αει χρονον αλλα και]

## Fr. 31.

] λ[εγω] 102 d  
δοξ]αι [σ]οι οπερ  
] μεγεθος  
ει]ψ[α]ι αλλα  
5 προσδεχ]εσ[θ]αι  
τ]ο  
αυτω]ι  
προσελθοντο]ς e

αλλο τι ο εστι μεν [ουκ εκενο εχει δε την εκενου μορ]  
 5 φην αει οτανπερ ηι: [ετι δε εν τωιδε ισως εσται σαφεσ]  
 τερον ο λεγω: το γαρ π[εριττον αει που δει τουτου]  
του ονοματος τυγχανειν οπερ νν λεγομεν η ου πα]  
 νυ γε: αρα μονον των ον[των τουτο γαρ ερωτω η και]  
 αλλο τι ο εστι μεν ουχ οπερ πε[ριττον ομως δε δει]  
 10 αντ[ο] μ[ετα το]ν εαυτον ονοματο[s και τουτο καλειν αει]  
 δια [τ]ο ουτω πεφυκεναι ωστε το[ν περιττου μηδεποτε]  
 απ[ολ]ειπεσθαι: λεγω δε αυτο ειμ[αι οιον και η τρια]

104

## Fr. 34.

[πεπονθε και αλλα πολλα σκ]οπει δε περι της τριαδο[s]  
 [αρ ον δοκει σοι τωι τε αυτη]s ονοματι αει πρ[οσα]γορευτεα  
 [ειναι και τωι του περιττου] οντος ουχ οπερ [τη]s τριαδος  
 [αλλ ομως ουτω πως πεφυκ]ε και η τρια και [η π]εμπας  
 5 [και ο ημισυς του αριθμου απας] ωστε ουκ αν οπε[ρ το] πε[ρι]  
 [πτον αει εκαστος αυτων εστι] περιττος και αν [τα δυο και]  
 [τετταρα και απας ο ετερος] αυ στιχος του αρι[θμου ουκ]  
 [αν οπερ το αριτον ομως εκασ]τος αυτων αρτι[ος ε]στιγ [αει]  
 [συγχωρεις η ον πως γαρ ουκ] εφη: ο τοινυ εφη [βου]λομα[ι]  
 10 [δηλωσαι αθρει εστιν δε τοδε ο]τι φαινεται ου μον[ον ε]κειν[α]  
 [τα εναντια αλληλα ον δεχομενα]: αλλα και οσα οντ αλληλ[ois]  
 [εναντια εχει αει τανα]γτια· ουδε ταυτα εοικ[ε] δεχομ[ε]  
 [νοις εκεινην την ιδεαν η αν] τηι εν αυτηι ουσηι ε[να]γτια  
 [ηι αλλ επιουσης αυτης ητοι α]πολλυμενα η υπεξ[χωρουντα η ον]  
 15 [φησομεν τα τρια και] απολεισθαι προ[τερον και αλ]λο οτι  
 [ουν πεισεσθαι πριν υπομ]ειναι ετι τρια ο[ντα αρ]τια γενεσθαι  
 [πανυ μεν ονν εφη ο Κεβη]s: ουδε μην η [δ ος εναν]τιον γε  
 [εστι δυας τριαδι ον γαρ] ουν: ουκ αρα μογ[ον τα ει]δη τα εναν  
 [τια ουχ υπομενει επιοντα α]λληλα· [αλλα και αλλ αττα τ]α εναν  
 20 [τια ουχ υπομενει επιοντα αληθεστατα εφη λεγ]εις:  
 [βουλει ουν η δ ος εαν οιοι τ ωμεν ορισωμε]θα οπο[ι]

b

c

## Fr. 35.

ε]φ οτι αγ [ 105 a  
 επιφερομε]νου ενα[ντιοτητα  
 ανα]μιμησκ[ου  
 5 τ]ην του α[ρτιου  
 ]διπλα[σιον  
 ] δε τη[ν

## Frr. 36-7.

τ]ην [το]υ ο[λ]ον κα[ι 105 b  
 πα]ντ[α τα τοιαυτα ει]περ έπηι τε κ[αι  
 πα]ν σφ[οδρα και συνδοκει ε]φη και επο[μαι  
 ε]ξ αρχ[ης λεγε και μη μοι ο].αν ερω[τω  
 5 μιμ]ογμερ[ος  
 ελεγο]ν αποξ[ρισιν  
 ].].[

## Fr. 38.

] γαρ αν 106 a  
 ] την θερ  
 [μοτητα

## Fr. 39.

] τρια ο[νκ 106 b  
 περιττο]ν ουδ[ε  
 θερ]μοτης  
 ] το περιτ[τον  
 5 αρτιο]υ ωσπερ [  
 ] εκεινου [  
 ] αν εχοιμ[εν  
 γα]ρ αναρτ[ιον  
 ] ωμολο[γητο  
 10 ο]τι επελ[θοντος  
 ] τρια οιχ[εται  
 ] των αλ[λων  
 με]ν ουν: [  
 η]μιν ομ[ολογειται

## Fr. 40.

] δει τους συλ[λεγεντας 107 d  
 ] μετ[α  
 του]s ενθενδε [  
 τυχει]ν· και μει[ν]αγ[τας  
 5 ηγεμω]ν κο[μιξ]ει [

## Frr. 41-2.

προσ]τεταγμεν[ον 108 b  
 αφικομε]γην δε οθιτ[ερ  
 τ]η πεποιηκυια[  
 αδικω]ν ημ[μενην] η αλλ άττα [  
 5 τοντ]ωρ αδε[λφα τε και α]δελφων  
 ]ταυτ[ην μεν απας φ]ενγε[ι  
 ου]τε συν[εμπορος

## Fr. 43.

οικουντ]ας εν [ 109 c  
 ] επι τ[ης  
 πυ]θμει[ι  
 θαλαττ]ης [

Fr. 44.

τε ειναι<sup>μ</sup>ημ[as] 109 e  
τις αυτου επ[  
]. κατιδειν [  
ιχθυες ανακ[υπτοντες  
5 τιν]α και τα εκε[ι  
ανασχεσθ]αι θεωρου[σ]α [

Fr. 45.

πλειω τ[ων 111 b  
] πασι το[ις  
αποστα]σει ηπε[ρ  
αιθη]ρ α[ε]ρ[οις  
5 ].[

Fr. 46.

επειτ]α χρον[ον 114 c  
αφικνου]γται· α[ις  
. . . .

Fr. 47.

λουσαμ[ενον 115 a  
γν]ναιξ[ι  
αντ]ου· ο Kρ[ιτων  
επιστελ]λεις η [  
5 ποιουντ]εις ημει[ι

Kρ]ιτων· ουδει[  
υμ]εις· και εμοι ι[αι

ποιησετ]ε άτταν πο[ητε  
μ]ει[α]υτω[ν  
κατ]α τα νυν τ[ε

Fr. 48.

παραμε]γειν εγγ[υησαθε 115 d  
απο]υτα· ινα K[ριτων e  
]. η καιομενον [  
ω]ς δειν άττα [  
5 προ]τιθετ[αι  
. . . .

Fr. 49.

θαρρε]ιν τε χρη [κ]α[ι 115 e  
θαπτε]ιν ουτως οπω[ις  
ει]γαι· ταν[τ] ειπ[ων 116  
λ]ουσομερος κ[αι  
5 πε]ριμενειν· [

Fr. 50.

]. ως δε ειδ[ομεν 117 c  
βι]α γε και αι[του  
εγκα]λυψαμερ[οις  
αλλ]α την ε[μαντου  
5 εστερημενο]ς ειην· [

## UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

Fr. 51.

]τοις δ.[  
. ποστετ[

Fr. 52.

πρ[  
ως[

λαβ[  
ε[

Fr. 53.

πρ[  
αμ[

το λ[  
. . .

τη[  
5 τει[  
νια[  
μει[  
και τ[

Fr. 56.

.ι.[  
]εταλ[  
].νη εχε[  
].ει ουτοι[  
5 ]τατα[  
νενε[  
].ιαν δ[  
].τα ει[  
. . .

Fr. 57.

.λ.[  
].ωσοχ[  
].τω ε.[  
].σοα..[  
5 ].ωι εινα[ι

Fr. 58.

. . .  
].ε.[  
].ενο[  
].κει[  
].οκει[  
5 ].ι: η οι[  
. . .

.νειν λ[  
].ευσιν [  
].η ως ω[  
]. . .[  
. . .

Fr. 59.

.α[  
].εχοιτ[  
].απ εκε[  
].ωνειτ[  
5 ?η]δοναι[  
. . .[  
. . .

Fr. 60.

. . .  
].λ.[  
].ωσοχ[  
].τω ε.[  
].σοα..[  
5 ].ωι εινα[ι

Fr. 61.

. . .  
].παρτι α[  
].ην τοι[  
].ει· πα[  
].ν: τα.[  
5 ].τε[  
. . .

Fr. 62.	Fr. 65.	Fr. 69.
.	.	.
] $\alpha\acute{v}$ [	] $\tau\acute{o}$ [	] $a..$ [
] $\nu$ [	] $o\gamma\varsigma\tau$ [	] $\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma:\pi$ [
] $\omega\nu\delta\epsilon..i$ [	] $\alpha\mu\sigma\varsigma$ [	] $\alpha\mu\tau\varsigma\tau\alpha$ [
] $\omega\lambda\lambda\tau\varsigma$ [	] $a:\omega\sigma$ [	.
5 ] $\beta\omega\mu\lambda\eta$ [	5 ]. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\kappa\alpha$ [	Fr. 70.
.	]. $\tau\omega\varsigma$ [	.
.	.	] $\omega\pi\pi\varsigma$ [
Fr. 63.	Fr. 66.	] $\eta\sigma\omega\varsigma$ [
.	.	] $\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda$ [
].[	] $a\acute{v}\pi\omega\varsigma$ [	] $\tau\alpha\delta\iota$ [
] $\omega\omega$ [	5 ] $\tau\omega\mu\sigma\omega\varsigma$ [	5 ]. $\tau\iota$ [
] $\alpha\lambda$ [	]. $\omega\gamma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\gamma\omega$ [	].[
] $\epsilon\omega\cdot\tau\varsigma$ [	].[	Fr. 75.
5 ] $\omega\kappa\epsilon\alpha\tau$ [	.	.
] $\pi\epsilon\tau$ [.] $\nu\alpha$ [	.	] $\tau\phi\sigma$ [
]: $\gamma\epsilon..e\alpha$ [	Fr. 67.	? $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [
]. $\tau\omega$ [	.	] $\rho\sigma\omega$ [
] $\epsilon\mu\alpha\gamma$ [	] $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [	] $\sigma\alpha\omega\tau$ [
10 ] $a\acute{e}..$ [	] $\nu\omega\omega$ [	5 ].[
].[	] $\epsilon\chi\omega$ [	Fr. 79.
] $a..[.]o$ [	].[	.
].[	]. $\lambda\eta\sigma$ [	] $\rho$ [
] $\alpha\phi\eta\iota.\epsilon\kappa$ [	Fr. 68.	] $\pi\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [
15 ] $a\acute{v}$ [	.	5 ].[
.	]. $\tau$ [	] $\alpha\phi$ [
]. $\mu\epsilon$ [	5 ]. $\nu\delta$ [	] $\pi\omega$ [
] $\pi\delta$ [	.	Fr. 80.
Fr. 64.	] $\tau\omega$ [	].[
.	5 ].[	] $\epsilon\omega$ [
]. $\omega\epsilon.\iota\epsilon\pi\varsigma$ [	] $\nu\epsilon\lambda$ [	] $\pi\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [
]. $\alpha\mu\tau\epsilon\omega\alpha$ [ $i$	]. $\nu\iota$ [	5 ]. $\alpha\gamma.\kappa$ [
] $\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ [	] $\omega\mu\delta$ [	] $\kappa$ [
].[	]. $\alpha\mu\epsilon\pi\varsigma$ [	] $\mu\mu$ [
.	5 ]. $\alpha\iota$ [	.

Fr. 74.	Fr. 77.	Fr. 81.
.	.	.
] $\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ [	] $e\theta\alpha\mu$ [	.
] $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau$ [	] $\iota\omega\eta\alpha$ [	.
] $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon$ [ $s$ ?	? $\epsilon\omega\iota\kappa\epsilon$ [	.
] $\omega\sigma\alpha\pi\alpha$ [	.	Fr. 82.
5 ]. $\pi\pi$ [	.	.
.	Fr. 78.	] $\tau\omega\iota$ [
.	.	] $\phi\mu\gamma\kappa\epsilon$ [
.	] $\sigma\epsilon\lambda$ [	] $\omega\iota\sigma$ [
.	] $\chi\epsilon\sigma\omega$ [	].[
Fr. 75.	] $\tau\eta\mu$ [	.
.	] $\mu\alpha\pi\tau$ [	.
] $\tau\phi\sigma$ [	5 ]. $\tau$ [	Fr. 83.
? $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [	.	.
] $\rho\sigma\omega$ [	.	].[
] $\sigma\alpha\omega\tau$ [	.	] $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\mu$ [
5 ].[	.	] $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon$ [
.	Fr. 79.	] $\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ [
.	.	5 ]. $\tau$ [
] $\rho$ [	.	.
] $\pi\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ [	.	Fr. 84.
5 ].[	] $\alpha\phi$ [	.
.	Fr. 80.	] $\tau\omega$ [
] $\eta$ [	.	] $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ [
] $\tau\omega$ [	.	] $\mu\epsilon$ [
5 ]. $\tau\alpha\cdot\epsilon$ [	5 ]. $\pi\omega\cdot\kappa\alpha$ [	5 ]. $\omega\gamma\epsilon$ [
] $\alpha\gamma.\kappa$ [	] $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau$ [	]. $\mu\epsilon$ [
] $\kappa$ [	] $\mu\mu$ [	5 ]. $\omega\iota$ [
.	.	.
Fr. 2 1 $\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\cdot$ om. T.	.	.
Fr. 5 4 $\epsilon\tau\iota$ [ei: so TW; $\delta\tau\iota$ B.	.	.
Fr. 6 4 $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\cdot$ so BT; $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\cdot$ W.	.	.
Fr. 7 1 $\pi\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\cdot$ so B <sup>2</sup> TW Eus. Stob.; $\epsilon\mu\pi\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\cdot$ B.	.	.
Fr. 8 1 $\epsilon\phi\eta\iota$ : not enough remains to see whether the scribe erased the iota.	.	.
Fr. 9-11 5 $\delta\iota\epsilon\omega\lambda\beta\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ so B Stob.; $\delta\iota\eta\omega\lambda\beta\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ W; $\delta\iota\epsilon\omega\lambda\beta\eta\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ T (but with $\eta$ marked with a point) b.	.	.

**Fr. 12-14** 2 η]: so BTW Eus.; η Stob.; οι recc.  
6 τε και: so T Stob.; και B Eus.

10 εστιν: om. Ars.

11 κ[αι]: so T Eus. Stob.; τε και B.

12 η[και]: so BW Eus. Stob.; και T; η W. The size of the gap makes it certain that η και was the reading of the papyrus.

16 αλ[η]ψι η: ἀλλω B<sup>2</sup>TW Iambl. Stob.: ἀλλ' B. The reading of the papyrus is in itself as satisfactory as that of B and, in view of the support given to ἀλλω, should perhaps be accepted.

17 φιλόσοφοι T Ars. Iambl.: φιλοσοφῶντες B. For reasons of space it is very probable that the papyrus read φιλοσοφοί, and also απέχονται with TW Ars. Iambl. against the ἔχονται of B.

30 Ars. (followed by Burnet) adds δὴ after ταύτη against BT. The papyrus probably agreed with the latter.

31 Ars. adds λέγεις ἔφη after πῶς and omits ἔφη in the next line.

35 διὰ εἰργμον cet.

**Fr. 16** 4 εμοι γ]αρ: so T b; εμοιγε B (ut vid.) W.

**Fr. 17** 3 μεν]τοι τα: so T; μέντοι αὐτὸν τὰ B.

9 δυσελεγκτοτάτον: so W; δυσελεγκτότατον cet.

11 δυνατ[αι]: δύνατο MSS.

16 εδ[οκει]: so B<sup>2</sup>W; δοκεῖ BT.

26 συνθέτα: so B; σύνθετά τε T.

28 η: so T; και B.

**Fr. 18** 8 Instead of Forster's σῶς, the papyrus may have read ιῶς with the other MSS.

10 απιστων: so BTW; απιστον Burnet, following Heindorf.

13 τω]σ seclusit Burnet.

16 The space is insufficient to include the ὁ Σιμμία of the MSS. after οἴμαι.

19 νοτ[ερον: so BT σ; νοτερον B<sup>2</sup>W.

22 ταύτην, which B omits, was almost certainly in the papyrus.

**Fr. 19** 1 δοξ[αι]: so T Stob.; δοξάσαι BW.

8 ὅτι BT Stob.; ὅτι οὐ W. If the ἔτι is a genuine variant and not a mere slip, συμβαίνειν (less probably συμβαίνον or συμβαίνοντα) must be supplied instead of the συμβαίνει of the MSS.

27 ε]αν: ἀν MSS.

**Fr. 22** 2 η περι Βοιωτο]ν: η Βοιωτον MSS.

9 ποιω α: so B<sup>2</sup>TW Eus.; ποιῶν δ B.

**Fr. 24-7** 4 σε: so T; σοι B.

5 ψυχή: so BW; η ψυχή T.

7 εκείνοις εξης: ἔχεις εκείνοις MSS.

9 The words πλὴν αὐτὸν τὸ καλόν following τί ἔστιν ἄλλο, which are omitted by B, must have stood in the papyrus.

14-15 The letters here are insufficient to fill the space. As B<sup>2</sup>TW read η ὅτι for the η of B in l. 15, we may suspect that this is a survival of a reading η ὅτι χρῶμα εὐανθές ἔχει η σχῆμα, which may well have stood in the papyrus.

20 If this small fragment is correctly placed, as its colouring and condition suggest it is, it provides confirmation of Wyttenbach's προσαγορευομένη, adopted by Burnet in place of the corrupt προσγενομένη of the MSS.

22 The papyrus agrees with BW against T b in omitting the unnecessary γίγνεται before καλά.

23-4 Both these lines are short; but the text of this passage is disturbed and the reading of the papyrus may well have differed from that of the MSS., e.g. τινι may have been added after αλλωι.

**Fr. 29** To the right of this column are the initial letters of four lines of the next column.

1 σαντον: σεαντον B<sup>2</sup>TW; ἑαντον B.

2 σαντον: so B<sup>2</sup>TW; ἑαντον B.

4 α]ποκρινοι: so B; αποκριναο TW.

16 ὄμως: so B<sup>2</sup>TW; ὄπως B.

**Fr. 30** 8 τω]ι: so BT; τούτῳ W.

**Fr. 33** 1 προς: so B; εἰς B<sup>2</sup>TW.

8 χ[ι]ορ[α]: so B; χιῶν T.

**Fr. 34** 4 From the size of the gap it is likely that the papyrus read οὐτω πῶς with Bt instead of the οὔτως of T. π]εμπας: πεμπτᾶς MSS.

13 αυτῷ: so BTW; αυτοὺς recc.

17 οὐδὲ: so B<sup>2</sup>TW; οὐ δὴ B.

**Fr. 35** 1 οτι: so BT; ὅτῳ B<sup>2</sup>W.

**Fr. 39** 13 πανν με]ν οὐν: om. T.

14 η]μιν: om. W.

**Fr. 40** 3 ενθενδε: so B Stob.; ενθάδε T.

**Fr. 43** 2 τ[η]ς: om. Stob.

**Fr. 47** 4 επιστελλεις: so Coisl.; επιτέλλεις T; επιτέλλει B; επιτέλλη B<sup>2</sup>W.

9 μ]εν: so B; om. TW.

**Fr. 48** 4 δεινὰ ἄττα σχόντος T; δεινὰ πάσχοντος Bt. The papyrus presumably agreed with T, the ττ of ἄττα being a corruption of the π of πάσχοντος.

**Fr. 50** 2 εμοι γε και αυ[τον βιαι: εμοῦ γε βίᾳ και αὐτοῦ B; εμοῦ αὐτοῦ βίᾳ και T; εμοῦ τε και αὐτοῦ βίᾳ W.

## DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

### (a) OFFICIAL

23·2×11·5 cm.

A.D. 166.

The present letter, written by Heliodorus, strategus of the divisions of Themistis and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, to Dionysius, acting strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, illustrates very well how difficult it was, notwithstanding the threats of the prefect (cf. Reinmuth, *Prefect of Egypt*, p. 39), to obtain a sufficient number of donkeys for the transportation of corn to the harbour. In this letter Heliodorus reports to Dionysius the number of donkeys requisitioned from the Oxyrhynchite for transportation in the Fayûm (cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 404) which have disappeared; he requests him to send the drivers to the epistrategus and a fresh supply of donkeys to the Arsinoite.

The document is dated Pharmouthi 24 (April 19); hence it appears that the donkey-drivers had to be already in service at the beginning of the harvest, which lasts in Egypt from about Pharmouthi 7 till Payni 3 (April 2-May 28) (cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, pp. 162-5). Although the corn could be shipped to Alexandria at least up till Epeiph 23 (July 17) (cf. Johnson, op. cit., p. 401), or in any case before the end of August, when the flood reaches its highest point (cf. Edict xiii. 6), i.e. there were still three or four months, the strategus in his anxiety to get the donkeys exaggerates and writes that the time is pressing.

Αντίγραφον. Ἡλιόδωρος στρατηγὸς Ἀρσι(νοείτον) Θεμι-  
στοῦ καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων Διονυσίων  
βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) διαδεχομένω καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγί(αν)  
τῷ φιλάτωι χαίρειν.  
 5 Εἴ παρῆς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος ἀπειλουμένου  
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ σείτου κατακομιδῆς,  
ὅπως τὰ κτήνη τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοείτῃ ἐκ τῶν ἄλ-  
λων νομῶν ἐργαζόμενα πλεῦστα ὅσα πεμφθῆ-  
ναι, ἐπεξήλθοσαν τοῖς αὐθαδῶς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 10 ἡγεμόνος ἔ[γκ]έλευσιν ἀποστᾶσι κτηνοτρόφοις.  
γράψαντος [δέ] σοὶ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου μηδέ-  
να ἀφίστασ[θαι] τῶν ἐνθάδε πρὶν παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβῶσι  
γράμματα π[ερ]ὶ τοῦ ἀπηγγηκέναι τὴν τοῦ σείτου  
καταγωγὴν καὶ προσθέντος πεμφθῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 15 μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς τολμῶντας τοιοῦτον τι ἀπαν-  
θαίσασθαι τῆς χρείας πάνυ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην ὑπερ-  
βαλλούσης, ὥστε καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων πολλάκις  
καθολικῶς καὶ κατ' ὅψιν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν ἡγε-  
μόνα ἡπειληκέναι, ἐπεὶ οὖν καίτοι μόνων  
 20 ὄντων ἐνθάδε ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ ὄνων ὑπά-  
οι πλεῖστοι ἀπεστῆσαν ὡς λοιπὰ ἐνθάδε  
εἰς σήμερον καταλειφθαι ῥῆσι μεθ' ὧν οἱ ἐ-  
π' αὐτῶν τεταγμένοι εὐσχήμονες οὐ τολμήσαν-  
τες ἀποστῆναι παρέμεναν, ἀναγκαίως σοι δηλώ-  
 25 σας τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Φλανίου  
Τιτιανοῦ κελευσθέντα γράφω, ὅπως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ,  
ὡς καὶ ὁ κράτιστος ἐπιστράτηγος ἔγραψέ σοι, ἀναπεμψῆς  
ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀποστάντας, τὸν δὲ ἵσον τῶν ὄνων  
ἄριθμον μετ' εὐγνωμόνων κτηνοτρόφων δυνα-  
 30 μένων παραμεῖναι ἀποστεῖλαι ἵστο τοῦ ποταμοῦ-  
πλεῖσθαι δυναμένου τὴν καταγωγὴν γενέσθαι  
ἥδη μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπονοστοῦντος, τῆς δὲ χρείας ἐπειγού-  
σης τάχιστα τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ σείτου γενέσθαι.  
εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσχη(μόνων) δηλωθέντες ἀποκεχωρη(κέναι) ὧν  
ἔνεκε

- 35 ἔπειμψα ἔξι αὐτῶν πρός σε Διδ( ) Ἀπολ( ) τοῦ καὶ Σεκούνδου καὶ Φιλ( )  
τὸν κ(αὶ)  
 36 Φιλ( ) Διον( ) καὶ Πτολ( ) Ἀπολ( ) τοῦ καὶ Πετε( ). ἐρρῶσθ(αὶ) σε  
εὐχομ(αὶ) φίλ(τατε). Λε"  
 37 Φαρμοῦθι κδ.

## Verso.

Eἰσὶν δὲ οἱ ἀποκεχωρη(κότες) ·	Xύσεως ὄνοι	Σ	
Σιγκεφᾶ	κε	Σερύφεως	κγ
40 Παπέρκη	κβ	Κάφεως	ς
Φοβών	η	Σεραπ(ίωνος) Χαι(ρήμονος) ἐπ(οικίου)	ε
Τύχων	ε	Σενοπ(άθεως)	με
Νόμουν	γ	Νεμερῶ(ν)	ιη
Τοκαπεενω( )	ε	Παλώσεω(ς)	κγ
45 Τήεως	ιη	55 Σιναρύ	ιβ
Φώβ(θεως) κάτω	ε	Ψέμμεω(ς)	θ
Τακόνα	θ	(γίνονται) ὄνοι [σ]με.	

6 l. σίτου, so too in 13, 33      28 ισον.      30 l. εἰς

'Copy. Heliodorus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, to his dear friend Dionysius, royal scribe and also acting strategus, greeting. If you were present when the most illustrious prefect threatened the strategi with regard to the transport of the corn, to send as many animals as possible from the other nomes to work in the Arsinoite, they have proceeded against the herdsmen who had presumptuously run away after the order of the prefect. Since the most excellent epistrategus has written to you that none of those who are here is to be allowed to go away before receiving from me a certificate that they have been required to convey the corn, and he has added that those who dared to act so impudently must be sent to him under guard, because the position is extremely critical, so that the prefect also has often issued warnings both generally and individually to the strategi by means of letters: therefore since, although there are only 411 donkeys here from your nome, most of them have run away, so that up to the present only 156 are left here, with whom the notables who had been appointed over them had the public spirit to remain, I write to you perforce to make known to you what has been ordered by the most illustrious prefect Flavius Titianus, in order that you, as the epistrategus also wrote to you, may send those who have decamped to him. Send an equal number of donkeys with herdsmen of standing, who can stay, in order that, while the river is still navigable, the transportation may be carried out, because the water is already imperceptibly rising and the need is urgent that the corn be very quickly brought down. Below is a list of those whom the notables have indicated as having decamped, on which account I have sent to you, out of them, Did( ), son of Apol( ) alias Secundus, Phil( ) alias Phil( ), son of Dion( ), and Ptol( ), son of Apol( ) alias Pete( ). I pray for your health, my best friend. The 5th year, the 24th Pharmouthi.'

1 Ἡλιόδωρος. He is known as strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome from 164 till 167; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 62.

5 εἰ παρῆς. This form of the 2nd person of the imperfect of *εἰναι* occurs here for the first time; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, I. ii. 81. These words are hardly intelligible as a subordinate clause to the main verb ἐπεξήλθοσαν. Consequently we suggest that there is probably an anacolouthon and the meaning is 'if you were present', i.e. 'if you were already in office (you ought to have known the order of the prefect and to have proceeded against the herdsmen; if not, I inform you of his order that you may act in accordance with it)'.

*τοῦ λαμπράτου ἡγεμόνος ἀπειλουμένου κτλ.* The date of the document being Pharmouthi 24, the edict of the prefect referred to in this line and ll. 25–6 is most probably of the preceding year. This explains also *εἰ παρῆσ*.

8–9 *πεμφθῆναι*. For *δησ* followed by an infinitive see Mayser, op. cit. II. i. 257.

13 *ἀπηγκέναι*. Cf. *Archiv*, iii. 203, 215.

25–6 Flavius Titianus was prefect of Egypt in 20 March–30 June 132 and July–August 164–24 June 167; cf. Reinmuth, op. cit. 134–5.

30 *ἀποστεῖλαι*. This infinitive may depend on *δησ* (l. 26), or we may take it as an imperative.

32 *ὑπονοσοῦντος*. This verb occurs here for the first time in papyri. The meaning is ‘to retire’; cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. We know that the Nile is rising from 10–15 August till 20–5 September (cf. Schnebel, op. cit., p. 70), during which time navigation was suspended (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 33). Consequently on April 19, the date of our document, the water is neither rising nor falling. The strategus, however, looking forward to the time when the corn cannot be shipped, although there is plenty of time, exaggerates and presses Dionysius to send the donkeys. Therefore we suggest for *ὑπονοσοῦντος* the meaning ‘imperceptibly return, i.e. rise’.

35 It is not possible to complete the names, since several resolutions are conceivable.

ἐξ αὐτῶν. These are most probably the *εὐσχήμονες* who had indicated the disappearance.

39–47 Most of the names of the villages are known in the Oxyrhynchite nome; this proves that Dionysius was royal scribe and acting strategus of that nome, the name of which is omitted in the address.

47 [σ]με. The total of the numbers on the verso is 247, not 245: having regard to the recto ll. 20, 22, we should expect 255; it is, however, not possible to read ν instead of μ.

### 2183. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS.

14·5×13·3 cm.

A.D. 181.

At the request of the strategus of the Menelaite nome Nemesianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, orders the heirs of Philiscus, ex-strategus of the Menelaite nome, to pay the sum of 212 drachmae 5 obols, probably as interest on a sum raised by the sale of confiscated property, which Philiscus had collected during his period of office, but not paid over. This letter provides new evidence in support of the view (see J. G. Tait, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* viii, pp. 166–73) that strategi were not normally eligible for office in their own nomes; cf., too, 2184. It also throws a further light on the mismanagement as strategus of Philiscus, who may now be identified with the strategus of the same name in S.B. 7173; the 20th year mentioned there is consequently of the reign of the Emperor Commodus, and the nome not the Oxyrhynchite (cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 29), but the Menelaite.

*Νεμεσιανὸς στρατηγὸς Ὁξυρυγχεῖτον  
κληρονόμοις Φιλίσκου στρατηγήσαν-  
τος Μενελαίτου τοῖς φιλ(τάροις) χαίρειν.  
Ο τοῦ Μενελαίτου στρατηγὸς ἐπεστειλέν μοι  
5 περὶ ἀπαιτήσεως (δραχμῶν) σιβῇ ὡς ἀναλημ-  
φθείσων ἐν τῷ Φιλίσκῳ ὑπὲρ λημμά-  
των κ (ἔτους) τόκου τιμῆς ὑπαρχόντων  
πρότερον Ἀθηνοδώρου Παμφίλου. ἵνα  
οὖν εὐθέως τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσειθε*

### 2183. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS

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10 ἐπέστειλα ὑμεῖν. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχ(ομαι) φίλ(τατοι).  
δι(a)διδότωι a(ντοῖς).

Λκβ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Κομμόδου  
'Αν[τ]ωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
Σαρματι[κο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Τύβι α.

10 l. ὑμῖν

‘Nemesianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the heirs of Philiscus, ex-strategus of the Menelaite nome, his dear friends, greeting. The strategus of the Menelaite nome has sent to me an order concerning the collection of 212 drachmae 5 obols received on the account of Philiscus for the revenues of the 20th year, i.e. the interest of the price of the property formerly belonging to Athenodorus, son of Pamphilus. In order therefore that you may repay forthwith, I have sent this to you. I pray that you may be in good health, my best friends. Hand it over to them. The 22nd year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Tybi 1.’

11 δι(a)διδότωι a(ντοῖς). These words are written so very cursively that we cannot read them certainly.

### 2184. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS.

12×10·7 cm.

A.D. 215.

Letter from Aurelius Anoubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus, ex-strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, perhaps written on the instigation of the officials of the Arsinoite nome, since Sarapion has not registered his books to the revenue office within the appointed time. For a similar document see 57.

*Αὐρήλιος Ἀνούβιων στρα(τηγὸς) Ὁξυρυγχεῖτον Αὐρηλίῳ  
Σαραπίων[ι] τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῷ στρατηγήσ[αντι Ἀρ-]  
σιγοέτον Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μ[ερίδων]  
τ[ῶ]ι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν.  
5 Ο λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν Αὐρήλιος Σεπ[τίμιος]  
['Ηράκ]λειτος ἐκέλευσεν δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν [στρατηγ(ois)]  
[καὶ βασι]λικοῖς γραμματεῦσι νομῶν τινῶν [καταχωρί-]  
[ζειν τὰ] ἄποχα· ἐδήλωσαν οἱ τῆς τάξεω[s .....]  
[..... μ]ὴ κατακεχωρίσθαι αὐτοῖς [ὑπὸ τῆ[s .....]  
10 [.....]... εξηκοντα δεα...μα...[.....]  
[.....]ατα ἐν[ε]γράφη τὰ εἰ[s Ἀλεξάν-]  
[δρειαν πεμπόμε]γα βιβλία κατὰ τὸ κε[λευσθὲν]  
[ἐντὸς τῆς ὁρισθείσης προθεσμίας [καταχωρί-]  
[ζειν .....].απ.ντων...[.....]*

'Aurelius Anoubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to his dear friend Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus, ex-strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, greeting. The most illustrious prefect Aurelius Septimius Heraclitus has given orders for the registration of the receipts in a letter to the strategi and the royal scribes of certain nomes. The officials of the bureau . . . announced that . . . were not registered to them. . . . It was written (in the order) that the documents to be sent to Alexandria had to be registered within the appointed time. . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Anoubion is known as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome from 211 to 216; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*.

<sup>2</sup> Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus was only known as strategus of the Arsinoite nome for the year A.D. 210 (P. Flor. 317 and P.S.I. 1148); the present document may suggest that he was in office till 214. He is to be identified with the person mentioned in 2116 2-3, 2137 2, and 2189. A genealogy of his family is to appear in P.S.I. xii (cf. *Pubbl. della Scuola di Fil. Class. dell' Università di Roma, Serie Seconda*, p. 29).

<sup>5</sup> Aurelius Septimius Heraclitus must be identical with Septimius Heraclitus, prefect of Egypt in March 215; cf. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> νῷμῶν τυῶν. For the fact that the prefect addresses the strategi and royal scribes of only a few nomes see 474 2, 32, *Archiv*, iv. 122, 9, P. Iand. 140, 7.

<sup>8</sup> ἀποχα. It is impossible to read βιβλία; cf. l. 12.

<sup>10</sup> εξηκοντα. Perhaps we should read ἔξηκοντα (sc. δραχμάς) i.e. the fine to be paid for registering too late, cf. *Archiv*, loc. cit., 57, 61; it is, however, also possible that it is the participle of the verb ἔξηκω 'run out, expire (of time)'.

<sup>11</sup> ἐνέγραψῃ, i.e. in the order of the prefect.

<sup>12-14</sup> A similar order to register the documents addressed to the strategi and royal scribes is referred to in *Archiv*, loc. cit. See further 57, 61, 514; Chrest. i. 173, 190, 264; *Mélanges Maspero*, ii, pp. 17 seqq.

#### 2185. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED.

16·8×7·5 cm.

A.D. 92.

An order from Claudius Areius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the sitologi of Pakerke to supply seed to Heracleides, cultivator of γῆ οὐσιακή; for parallel documents see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 461.

[Κλ]αύδιος Ἀρειος στρα(τηγός) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
Παποντᾶτ(i) καὶ τοῖς μετόχ(οις)  
σι(τολόγοις) Πακέρκ(η) ἀπη(λ)λ(ιώτου) χαι(ρειν). μετρή(σατε)  
ἐπακ(ο)λο(ν)θ(ούτων) τῇ καθαβέσι τῶν τε  
5 [κ]ατασπ(ορέων) καὶ τῶν προκεχιρι[σ]μ(ένων)  
[σ]υνεπιστέλλ(οντος) Ἀρποχ( ) β(ασιλικοῦ) γρ(αμμάτεως)  
[Η]ρακλε[ι]δ(η) Ἡρακλε[ι]δ(ον) τοῦ Πτολε-  
μαίο(ν) μητ(ρὸς) Διογενδ(ος) τῆς Σαρα-  
πι( ) τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλ(εως) ὡς  
10 Λ[..] ο(νδη) ἀντ(ικνημίω) ἀρ(ιστερῶ), δην γνωριεῖται  
ἰδὲ ᾧ κειδύνω, εἰς σπ(έρματα) ἀπὸ γε-  
νήματ(ος) δι(ελθόντος) (έτους) εἰς κατασπ(ορὰν) τοῦ  
ἐνεστῶτ(ος) ιβ[ι] Αὐτοκράτορος

#### 2185. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED

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Καίσαρος Δ[ο]μιτιανοῦ Σεβασ(τοῦ)

15 Γερμανικοῦ, εἰς ἄς ημ( ) Ἀμ-  
[μ]ώνιο(s) κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) Ψώβθ(εως)  
καὶ Περῶ(s) γεωργ(ὸς) αὐτὸν  
περὶ μὲν Ψώβθ(ν) ἀπη(λ)λιώτ(ον)  
[οὐ]σί(as) Ἀντικράτ(ον) καὶ Σωστρά(τον) ἀρού(ρας) λ  
20 καὶ περὶ Περοφ( ) ὁρόμ(ατι) Πτολεμαίο(v)  
τοῦ Ἀραιό(v) ἀρού(ραν) Λ καὶ τοῦ . . . με-  
γους ἀρού(ρας) ιαδ ὡς γείνετ(αι) ἐπὶ  
τὸ αὐτ(ὸ) ούσια(κῆς) προ(σόδου?) γῆν ἐκ [..] νει-  
λοβρό(χου) ἀρού(ρας) μαζd Το μαζd,  
25 ἄς καὶ καταθ(ήσει) εἰς τὴν γ(ῆν) ὑγι(ῶς)  
μηδενὸς ὑπολ(ογουμένου) εἰς ὀφειλ(ῆν) ἡ {ετ}  
ἐπερόν ⟨τι⟩ ἀπλῶς, παρ' οὐ καὶ λά-  
βεται τὴν καθ(ήκουσαν) χειρογρα(φίαν)  
περὶ τοῦ ἐγ γέων ἀποκαταστ(ήσειν)  
30 ὅμα τοῖς τῆς γ[ῆς] καθήκου-  
[σι τ]ελ[έσμασι. Λιβ] Αὐτ[οκράτο-]  
[ρος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σε-]  
[βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. . . . .]

4 1. καταθέσει 5 1. προκεχειρισμ(ένων) 10 1. γνωριεῖται 11 1. κινδύνω 22 1. γίνεται  
23 1. γῆς 27-8 1. λάβετε 29 1. ἐκ

'Claudius Areius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to Papontos and his associates, sitologi of Pakerke in the eastern (toparchy), greeting. Measure out with the authorization also of Harpoch( ) the royal scribe, while the inspectors of the seed and the appointed officials observe the sowing, to Heracleides, son of Heracleides, son of Ptolemaeus, his mother being Diogenis, daughter of Sarapi( ), inhabitant of the city of Oxyrhynchus, about .. years old, with a scar on his left shin, whom you are to recognize at your own risk, for seed from the produce of the past year for the sowing of the present twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus for the land for which Ammonius, the village scribe of Psobthis, and the cultivator Peros were his sureties (?), at Psobthis in the eastern (toparchy) of theousia of Anticrates and Sostratus 30 arourae and at ... in the name of Ptolemaeus, son of Araeus, ½ aroura and of ...menes 11½ arourae, total 41½ ½ arourae of usiac revenue land irrigated by the Nile, 41½ ½ artabae corn; and he shall sow it on the land in good faith without any deduction for debts or any other purpose. And you must take from him the proper written oath that he shall repay out of the new crops together with the fixed dues upon the land. The 12th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Κλαύδιος Ἀρειος is known as strategus for the year 89; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 28.  
<sup>3</sup> ἀπη(λ)λ(ιώτου). This resolution is uncertain, but we may compare 1024 4 ἀπηλέωτον τοπαρχίας Πακέρκη τόπων.

<sup>15</sup> εἰς ἄς ημ( ). It is not possible to read γεωργεῖ as in the parallel documents; moreover the proper names prove that a different formula occurs here. Perhaps these words refer to the ἐγγίνεις for Heracleides as cultivator of land of the state (cf. P. Iand. 30.); but γγ( ) is not a possible reading.

28 χειρογρα(φίαν). In parallel documents we read τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀποχὴν δίσσην, but cf. *Chrest.* i. 344, 4.

## 2186. EXAMINATION (ἐπίκρισις) FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE GYMNASIUM.

20·5 × 39 cm.

A.D. 260.

The present document contains the application by a father, whose name is lost, requesting that his son, whose name is also lost, now 14 years old, might be selected for admission to the gymnasium. The application is addressed to two ex-gymnasiarchs, οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει. The lacuna of about 55 letters at the beginning can be restored in part with the help of 257, 1266, P.S.I. 457.

- 1 [Αὐρηλίοις] *Kρονίω* [καὶ ....]ω γυμνασι[αρχήσ(ασι)] βουλ(ευταῖς) τῆς Οξ(υργχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) τοὺς πρὸς τῇ ἐπικ(ρίσει)
- 2 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Σαραπίωνος μητ(ρὸς) λίας ἀπ' Οξ(υργχιτῶν) π[ό]-λ(εως). κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέ[ντα π]ερὶ ἐπικ(ρίσεως) τῶν προσβ(αινόντων) εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ γυμνα(σίου) ἡ εἰσι τοῦ γένους [τ]ούτου, ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδ[ο]ν
- 3 [οὐδέ μου μητ(ρὸς) ὥν προ[σ] τὸ ἔκεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) (έτῶν) [ι]δούλ(η) μή(λω) εὐώ(νυμω) μ[ι]κρομ(έτωπος) εὔσ(ημος) μέγεθ(ος) · ὅθεν παραγενόμ(ενος) πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπικ(ρισιν) δηλ(ω) κατὰ τὴν γενομ(ένην) τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ
- 4 [Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνα(σίου) ἐπίκ(ρισιν) ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) τὸν τοῦ πάππ(ον) μου πρόπ(αππον) Διονύσιον(?)] Φίλωνος ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) Μητρώου ἀκ[ο]λ(ούθως) αἷς ἐπήνεγκ(εν) ἀποδ(εξεσιν) ὡς καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ πατ(ῆρ) Διονύσιος Φίλωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτοις) θεοῦ Καίσαρος γρα(φῆ),
- 5 [καὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρός μου πρόπ(αππον) ..... προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ . (ἔτει) θεοῦ Δ]ομιτ[τ]ιανοῦ ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) Κρητικοῦ καὶ τὸν πρόπ(αππον) μου Κορηνήλιον προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ μ[ε]τού (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) Μητρώου καὶ τὸν
- 6 [πάππ(ον) μου ..... προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ .. (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον)] τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου Σαραπίωνα προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ σ (ἔτει) θεῶν Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίου καὶ Οὐήρου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) Ἀναμφοδάρχων
- 7 [καὶ ἐμὲ προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ . (ἔτει) θεῶν ..... ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) Κρητικοῦ καὶ τὸν τοῦ πάππ(ον) τῆς μητ(ρὸς) τοῦ νιοῦ μου πρόπ(αππον) Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀπολλώνιον τετάχθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ε (ἔτοις) θεοῦ Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) ἐπικ(ρίσεως)
- 8 [ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) c. 33 ll. καὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς α]ὐτῆς πρόπ(αππον) Ἀπ[ολ]λώνιον προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ β (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τίτου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ'

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ἀμφό(δον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πρόπ(αππον) αὐτῆς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν κ(αὶ) Ζώιλον προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ δ (ἔτει)

- 9 [θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) καὶ τὸν πάππ(ον) αὐτῆς πρ]οσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ ια (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίου ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατ(έρα) αὐτῆς Χωσίων προσβ(αινόντων) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ κβ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Κομμόδου
- 10 [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δον) c. 45 ll. ]ηρας καὶ δημ[ά]ρω τὴν Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ καὶ Κορηνήλιου Σαλωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν τύχην
- 11 [ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ εἶναι τὸν ..... φύσει ἐμοῦ καὶ ..]τυχος νιὸν [κ]αὶ μήτε θέσι μήτε ὑπόβλητον μηδὲ ἀλλοτρίαις ἀσφαλείαις ἢ ὅμωνυμίαις κεχρῆσθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ ὄρκῳ.
- 12 [Λζ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πο]υπλίου Λικινίου Ο]ναλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου Λικινίου
- 13 [Κορηνήλιου Σαλωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ]ῶν Μεσο(ρη) ἐπαγ[ομένων] ε . γνωστῆρ(ες) Μάρκο(ι) Αὐρήλ(ιοι) Μακρένος Μάρων μητ(ρὸς) Αὐνῆς τῆς κ(αὶ) Ἀπίας Λέων δ καὶ Κερκίνων
- 14 [ c. 55 ll. ] οἱ γ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) π[όλε]ως.  
2 l. ει 4 l. πάππος 5 τραϊανον ii 1. θέσει 12 1. Πουβλίου

To the Aurelii Cronius and ..., ex-gymnasiarchs, senators of the city of Oxyrhynchus, officials for the epicrisis, from Aurelius ..., son of Sarapion, his mother being ... lia of the city of Oxyrhynchus. In accordance with the orders concerning the selection of persons approaching the age for incorporation among those from the gymnasium to see if they belong to that class, my son ... was registered in the district ..., being 14 years old in the present 7th year, with a scar on his left cheek, with a small forehead, strikingly tall. Wherefore, coming forward for his examination, I declare that the great-grandfather of my grandfather, Dionysius (?), son of Philon, was selected at the selection of those from the gymnasium, which took place in the 5th year of the deified Vespasian in the quarter of Metrōus, in accordance with the proofs produced by him that his grandfather Dionysius, son of Philon, was entered on the list of the 34th year of the deified Caesar, and that the great-grandfather of my father ... was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the ... year of the deified Domitian in the Cretic quarter and my great-grandfather Cornelius was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the 17th year of the deified Trajan, in the quarter of Metrōus, and my grandfather ... was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the ... year of the deified Antoninus in the said quarter and my father Sarapion was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the 6th year of the deified Aurelii Antoninus and Verus in the quarter of the Anamphodarchi, and I myself was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the ... year of the deified ... in the Cretic quarter, and the great-grandfather of the grandfather of the mother of my son, Apollonius, son of Apollonius, was registered at the selection of the said 5th year of the deified Vespasian in the quarter ..., and the great-grandfather of her father, Apollonius, was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the 2nd year of the deified Titus in the said quarter, and her great-grandfather Apollonius alias Zoilus was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the 4th year of the

deified Hadrian in the quarter ... and her grandfather ... was selected at the selection of the persons to be incorporated in the 11th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus in the said quarter, and her father Chosion was selected at the selection of person to be incorporated in the 22nd year of the deified Commodus in the quarter ... I swear by the fortune of Valerianus, Gallienus, and Cornelius Salonus Valerianus Caesares our lords Augusti that the aforesaid is true and that ... is a son of myself and ... by birth and that he is neither adopted nor supposititious and I have not availed myself of credentials belonging to others or identity of names; otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. The 7th year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Salonus Valerianus the most eminent Caesar, Augusti, the 5th epagomene of Mesore. Witnesses: Marci Aurelii Macrinus son of Maron his mother being Aune alias Apia, Leon alias Cercion, son of ..., and ..., all three of the said city.'

<sup>1</sup> The first visible trace suits neither *i* nor *o*, so the beginning of the first line was probably left blank.

<sup>3</sup> In the description of the son the abbreviations are not indicated except for *οὐλ(η)* and *μέγεθ(ος)*.

<sup>4</sup> *πατ(ηρ)* is an error for *πάππος*.

<sup>6</sup> θεοῦ Ἀντωνίου. Between the *ἐπίκρισις* of his great-grandfather in A.D. 115–16 and his father A.D. 165–6 there is an interval of 50 years; the average of this makes one of the years of the Emperor Antoninus Pius the most suitable for the *ἐπίκρισις* of his grandfather.

<sup>7</sup> ἐπ' ἀμφόδοιο Ἀναμφοδάρχων. In 257 22 n. the editors explain ἐπὶ ἀναμφοδαρχῶν as 'among those who had no amphodarch', followed by Preisigke, *Fachwörter s.v.*; this document, however, proves that it is the name of one of the quarters of Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>7</sup> The large interval of 94 years between the *ἐπίκρισις* of the applicant's father A.D. 165–6 and his son 260 does not allow an approximate date for his own *ἐπίκρισις*.

<sup>8</sup> κ(α). Here and in l. 13 the abbreviation is not indicated.

<sup>8–9</sup> The year A.D. 80 being the date of the *ἐπίκρισις* of the great-great-grandfather of the applicant's wife and A.D. 148 of that of her grandfather, the fourth year in which the *ἐπίκρισις* of her great-grandfather took place is most probably that of Hadrian.

<sup>13</sup> γυνωστῆρες. For witnesses of the *ἐπίκρισις* see *Stud.* xx. 24, 6 and S.B. 7427, 8.

#### 2187. PETITION TO A LOGISTES.

27 × 28·7 cm.

A.D. 304.

The present petition, which is addressed to the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is the duplicate to be handed over to the defendant. At the top of the text after the date the logistes has written an order to one of his assistants to hand over the petition, and on the verso we find the interesting endorsement that the petition has been handed over, but that the defendant has refused to accept the summons.

The document is to be divided into three parts: (1) the petition to the logistes (ll. 5–14), (2) a copy of an earlier petition to the prefect, (3) included in (2) the extracts from the *ὑπομνήματα* of the first trial in the case before the prefect and his *ὑπογραφή*.

Owing to the loss of about 38 letters at the beginning of each line a satisfactory interpretation of the document has on many points proved impossible. There is a further difficulty in regard to the *ὑπομνήματα*. They were partly written in Latin, as usual at this period (cf. Wilcken in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, p. 121, and Zilliacus, *Zum Kampf der Weltsprache im oströmischen Reich*, p. 91); but in making his copy the petitioner has neither transcribed the Latin words nor

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translated them into Greek, but merely indicates with the word '*Ρωμαϊκά*' that there were Latin words in the original *ὑπομνήματα*. To this practice we have found no parallel.

The petitioner Septimius Aristion had been brought before the prefect by his sister-in-law Thaësis (l. 7). The case seems to concern the inheritance of Asclatarion, the deceased daughter (l. 25) of Thaësis. Aristion had probably been her *tutor* during her life and had managed the land and other properties, which she had inherited from her father Amyntianus. After her death he had neglected to cede the property to his sister-in-law. The prefect had decided that Aristion had to cede the property and the case was adjourned until the accounts of his guardianship had been checked by auditors, designated by each party. Thaësis, however, did not appear before the *λογοθέται*. Meanwhile Aristion had to appear in the court of the *catholicus*, apparently in connexion with the *ἔμβολή* of the *δημόσια πλοῦτα*, and was arrested. Thaësis took advantage of this to remove the crops. Thereupon Aristion sent a petition to the prefect with the request to compel Thaësis to accept the inheritance, to settle the accounts, and to appear in court; a copy of this petition with the prefect's *ὑπογραφή* was then sent to the *λογιστής*.

- 1 (1st h.) [Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμι]ανοῦ τὸ ἔνατον.
- 2 (2nd h.) [..... λογιστὴς Ὁξυρυγχίτο]ν διὰ Εὐτολμίου διαδόχου Σωτᾶ ὑπ(η-ρέτη). τῶν δοθέντων μοι βιβλίων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐγγεγραμμένου ἐντεταγμένης ἀναφορᾶς
- 3 [..... τῷ μεγαλείῳ το]ῦ κυρίου μου διασημ(οτάτου) ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου Κλωδίου Κουλκιανοῦ ἵστον ἐπ(ιστέλλεται) σοι, ὅπως φανερὸν καταστήσῃς ἢ ἡξίωσεν. σεσημ(είωμαι).
- 4 [Εκ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ϕ'' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Τῦβι ιζ'.
- 5 (1st h.) [.....] τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προ-τάτης) Ὁξυρυγχίτων πόλεως λογιστῆς διὰ Αὐρηλίου Εὐτολμείου ἐξηγητοῦ βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως διαδόχου
- 6 [παρὰ Σεπτιμίου Ἀριστίωνος ἐξηγ(ητοῦ) βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. δίκης περὶ κλήρου τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μ[ο]υ Ἀμυντιανὸν ὦ θυγατρὸς Ἀσκλαταρίου ἀνέκιτο τῷ μεγαλείῳ τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου Κλωδίου
- 7 [Κουλκιανοῦ .....] τῆς κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα παρὰ τῇ ἀρετῇ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματα ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου μου ἀδελφοῦ γενομένην γυναῖκα Θαῆσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
- 8 [..... προσέταξεν ἀπαντῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς δοθέντας λογοθέτας τόν τε τότε στατίζοντο β(ει)φ(ικιάριον) Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ Βερενικιανὸν καὶ Διοσκοριδῆν ἀμφοτέρους ἀρξαντας
- 9 [βουλευτὰς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ..... τῶν] ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀναλωθέντων, καὶ τούτου

- μηδ[έ]ν περανθέντος ἀλλὰ προκαλουμένου μου ἔτοιμως ἔχιν τὴν νομῆν παραδοῦναι τοῦ λογοθεσίου δόμου γνομένου
- 10 [.....] τὰ γενήματα ἀφήρπασεν ἔρμαιον ἡγη[σ]αμένη τὴν ἀπουσίαν μου προσεδρεύοντος τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασημοτάτῳ καθολικῷ Οὐαλερίῳ Εὐηθείῳ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀμάρτυρα ἐγένετο
- 11 [.....] ἀν]αφορᾶς καὶ ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν δι’ ἣς ἐπένευσέν μου ὑπογραφῆς παραθέσθαι [ταῦτα] καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκίν με παρεμηνεύει[ν τὸ] ὥ[σο]ν ὑποτάξας ἐπιδί-
- 12 [δωμάτιοι σοι ἀξιῶν ..... εἰς πέρας ἀ]χθῆναι τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν [ἀπόφασιν τὴν δὲ {τὴν} Θαῆσιν ἤκειν ἐπὶ τῷ λογοθέσιον καὶ τὴν νομῆν παραλαβεῖν ἐνόμως καὶ κατὰ τὰ κεκρυμένα ποιεῖν· οὕτως ἡγό βιούλο-
- 13 [μαι ἀκολούθως τοῖς προστεταγμένοις ἀπαντῆσαι] ἐπὶ τὸ ἄχραντον ἡγεμονικὸν δικαστήριον] τοῦ κλήρου εἴνεκεν μὴ ἐλαττουμένου μου ἐν οἷς ἔχω ἔτέροις παντοῖοις δικαίοις περὶ ὀντότοις μοι συστήσεται[ι παρὰ τῷ] μεγέθι τῆς ἡγεμονίας.
- 14 [διεντύχει. Λκ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Τῦβι [ ]. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἀντίγραφον·
- 15 [Κλωδίᾳ Κουλκιανῷ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ] ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου [ παρὰ] Σεπτιμίου Ἀριστίωνος ἔξηγητον βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιῶν πόλεως. κατάστασις μοι ὥ[γένετο] ἐπὶ σοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου
- 16 [περὶ κλήρου τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Ἀμυντιανοῦ] ὥ[θυγατρὸς Ασκλαταρίου πρὸς τὴν] μητέρα αὐτῆς Θα[ῆσι], ητο[ι]ς ἔλεγεν δὲν ‘τὴν’ νομῆν τῷ πραγμάτων πρότερον παραδοῦναι αὐτῇ καὶ οὗτος θέλει[ν] τὸν ἀγῶνα εἰπεῖν
- 17 [περὶ τοῦ κλήρου. ....] τὴν νομῆν παραδοῦναι διὰ Μαρκελίνου τότε ἐπιστάθμου ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ λογοθέσιον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμού εἰς κολλιεργίαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ εἰς τὰ δημόσια
- 18 [γενομένων τεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐπὶ τῶν αἱρεθέντων ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν [το]ύτου λογοθετῶν Διοσκουρίδου καὶ Βερενικιανοῦ καὶ ἵνα μὴ μαρεμην[ε]ύω, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνήκον μέρος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἔξῆς]
- 19 [ὑπέταξα .....]ν. γενομένων ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐπὶ το[ῦ] ἐπιστάθμο[ο]υ ἐπεκαλεσάμην αὐτὴν ἐγγράφως ἀμφότερα ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ λογοθέσιον καὶ τὴν νομῆν παραλαβῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδα τί δόξαν
- 20 [οὐκ ἐβούλετο τὴν νομῆν παραλαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὸ λογοθέσιον] ποιεῖν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτι ἀ καὶ μένοντος τοῦ πράγματος συμβ[έβη]κεν ἐπιδημήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου μου ἀδελφοῦ σου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου Εὐηθίου ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων

- 21 [.....] τῶν δημοσίων πλοίων εἰρχθῆναι μ[ε] ἀμα ἄλλοι[σ] ἐπὶ τόπου ἔκτο[τε] μέχρι δεῦρο. εὐτυχήσας οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐν τῆς τοῦ βικενναλίου τῶν δεσποτῶν ‘ἡμῶν’ Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
- 22 [τύχης ἀναγκαίως τὴν καταφυγὴν ποιοῦμαι πρὸς] τὸ σὸν μεγαλεῖν καὶ ἀξιώ [σε], διασημό[τατε] ἐπαρχο[ι], καὶ τὰ πρότερογ υπὸ σοῦ ἀποφαγθέντα τοῦ λογοθεσίου καὶ προεῖπον γενομένου τὴν νομῆν αὐτῆς παραδοῦναι
- 23 [.....]. καθ’ ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τῶν ὥ[φ] ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν σῶν ὑπομνημάτων αἱρεθέντων λογοθετῶν ἀναγκάσαι τὸ λογοθέσιον θέσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἀπαντῆσαι ἡμάς
- 24 [ἐπὶ τὸ σὸν τοῦ κυρίου μου ἀχραντον δικαστήριο] καὶ τούτου τυχῶν εἰσαὶ σοῦ τὰς μεγίστας τῆς [τύχης] χάριτας διμολογήσω. διεντύχει. Ρωμαϊκά. Αθύρια. Ρωμαϊκά. ἀντίδικον ἐν τόπῳ. κέλευσον κληροῦνται Θαῆσιν. μεθ’ ἐτερα·
- 25 [Κουλκιανὸς διασημότατος ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου εἰπ(εν)· ἡ] ἀντιγραφὴ φ(αν)ερά ἐστιν, ἦτις κελεύει πρότερον τὸν ἀντίδικον ἀποκατίστασθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὕτως ἀγωνίσασθαι τὰ μέρη· ὅμολογήσαντες δὲ περιούσης Ασκλαταρίου ἐσχηκέ-
- 26 [ναι.....]. ἐσχηκότες ταῦτα τὸ διοικήσαται τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ τε κηδεμόνᾳ[.....]ας κηδεμῶν ἀποκαταστήσας τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ ὅσα οὐ δικαίως εἶχεν. εἰ δὲ γέγονας κηδεμῶν διὰ πρότερον τῷ οἰκίῳ
- 27 [.....] κληρονόμον. μεθ’ ἐτερα / Κουλκιανὸς διασημότατος ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου εἰπ(εν)· χωρὶς προκρίματος τοῦ ἐσομένου περὶ τῆς κληρονομείας ἀγῶνος γέγραπται τὰ εἰρη-
- 28 [μένα .....]σθαι τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐφ' ὄντινα βούλεσθαι δοθῆναι ὑμῖν λογοθέτην. Ρωμαϊκά. τὸν ἐπίσταθμον δός λογοθέτην. / Κουλκιανὸς διασημότατος
- 29 [ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου εἰπ(εν)· .....Ζηναγένης οὐκ ἐπικειτο παρ' ἐμοὶ δόλος συστήσεται καὶ] αὐτὸς καλὴν πίστιν τῶν λόγων ἔξετάσει, εἰ δ’ ἀπεστιν, Μαρκελλῖνος δὲ ἐπίσταθμος δυνήσεται τοῦτο
- 30 [.....]φθῆναι ὑποβάλεται αὐτῷ οὐ[ν] .....ρουμένη. εἰς Ζηναγένην καὶ τὸν λογοθέτην Διοσκουρίδην συναφθῆναι τῷ ἐπιστάθμῳ. Ρωμαϊκά. καλῶ Βερενικιανὸν
- 31 [.....]ονται οἱ δύο οῖτοι ὃ τε Διοσκορίδης καὶ Βερενικιανὸς] ἀφθῆναι τῷ Μαρκελλίνῳ, εἰ δὲ τὸ Ζηναγένης. εἰ δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐνδιατρίβει, παρ’ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὸ λογοθέσιον
- 32 [τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων θέσθε. ἔως τούτοις τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων .....] δεόμενος τὴν διαδικούσαν ἔκαστα τε τῷ ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ προστεταγμένων γενέσθαι φρ..... βῆμα.

On the verso. (3rd h.) Ἐπίσταλμα Ἀριστίωνος  
 ιη' ἐπέστιλα τῇ ἐγγεγραμμένῃ  
 Θαήσει διὰ Θωνίου ὑπηρέτου  
 καὶ οὐ βεβούληται ὑπογράψῃ.

3 ισον, so too in 11 η corr. from ω 5 οξυργ'χτω, so too in 15 1. Εὐτολμίου 6 l. ἀνέκειτο  
 7 ὑπομημάτα, so too in 18, 23, 32 8 l. στατίζοντα 9 l. ἔχειν 10 l. Εὐηθίω 11 ὑπογραφῆς, ὑπερ  
 1. δοκεῖν ὑποταξας 12 l. ἐγώ 13 εἰλατούμενον 1. μεγέθει 16 l. δεῖν 17 ὑπαρχούτων  
 18 ὑπο, so too in 22 ἵνα 1. παρερμηνεύω 19 l. παραλαβεῖν 22 l. ἐπαρχε 23 κα of ἀναγκάσαι  
 written over καὶ 24 εἰσαὶ l. εἰσαῖ τρωματικα, so too in 28, 30 25 l. ἀποκαθίστασθαι 26 ἴδιω  
 γεγονας corr. from γεγονιας 1. δεῖ 1. οἰκείω 27 l. κληρονομίας 28 l. βούλεσθε 30 ὑποβα-  
 λεται l. ὑποβαλέτε 34 l. ἐπέστιλα εγγεγραμμένη 36 l. ὑπογράψαι

(rst h.) 'The ninth consulship of our lords Diocletian and Maximian. (2nd h.) ... logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome through his deputy Eutolmius to his assistant Sotas. A duplicate is sent herewith of the petition handed over to me by the person named therein together with the petition which he made to his highness my lord the most excellent Clodius Culcianus, prefect of Egypt, in order that you may make it known to the person requested by him. I have signed. The twentieth year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and the twelfth of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most eminent Caesars. Tybi 17.

(rst h.) To ..., logistes of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus through his deputy Aurelius Eutolmius, exegetes, senator of the said city, from Septimius Aristion, exegetes, senator of the said city. In respect of the case about the inheritance of Asclatarion, the daughter of my brother Amyntianus, there was laid before his highness my lord the most excellent Clodius Culcianus, prefect of Egypt ... in accordance with the memoranda made before his excellency in consequence of my confrontation with Thaësis, the wife of my aforesaid brother ... he ordered us to appear before the appointed auditors, the beneficiarius then on duty, Marcellinus, and Berenicianus and Dioscurides; both ex-archons, senators of the said city ... in respect of my expenditure; and when no conclusion was reached on this point, but I made an offer to the effect that I was willing to hand over the possession, if the accounts should be audited at the same time. ... She stole the crops thinking my absence a godsend, while I attended my lord his excellency the catholicus Valerius Euethius. This did not go unwitnessed ... and the endorsement by which he allowed me to lay this before you. To avoid giving the impression that I am misinterpreting, I hand this petition in to you with a copy and I beg you ... to execute the decision of the prefect and that Thaësis appear for the audit of accounts and accept legally the possession and act in accordance with the decision. Thus I am willing to appear (in accordance with the orders) before the immaculate court of the prefect in the matter of the inheritance without loss of all other kind of right I have, and concerning which accounts will be settled before his highness the prefect. Farewell. The twentieth year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most eminent Caesars, Tybi ... The following is a copy of the application: To his excellency Clodius Culcianus, prefect of Egypt, from Septimius Aristion, exegetes, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. I appeared before you, my lord, in the matter of the inheritance of Asclatarion, the daughter of my brother Amyntianus, against her mother Thaësis, who claimed that the possession of the property must first be surrendered to her and that on these terms she was willing to state her case concerning the inheritance. (You gave instructions for the possession to be surrendered) through Marcellinus then on duty and at the same time for the settlement of the accounts of the expenses incurred by me for the improvement of the property and for the taxes to the state, on the spot before those appointed by both parties to audit these accounts, Dioscurides and Berenicianus. That I may not misinterpret, I have attached to this petition the relevant part of the memoranda themselves. ... When we appeared on the spot before the official on duty I invited her in writing to do both, to settle accounts and to accept the possession, but, I do not know why, (she will neither accept the possession nor settle the accounts). On top of all this is what happened while the case was not yet decided, that I was arrested with others when my lord, your colleague, his excellency Valerius Euethius, the catholicus, was on the spot ... (because of the embolus of the) public ships, from that time on until now. Having therefore myself also shared in the good fortune of the *vicennialia* of our masters the

## 2187. PETITION TO A LOGISTES

Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, I of necessity have recourse to your highness and beg you, most excellent prefect, in accordance with your former decision, that if the audit of the accounts as I said before had been made, the possession should be surrendered to her ... while Marcellinus was absent, and to enforce a settlement of the accounts before the auditors who were appointed in accordance with your memoranda, and thus that we appear before your immaculate court, my lord; and if I receive this I shall be eternally grateful to your highness. Farewell. Latin. Hathyr 11. Latin. The defendant on the spot. Order Thaësis to be called. Post alia: His excellency Culcianus, prefect of Egypt, said: The rescript is quite clear which orders that the defendant is to cede the properties first and then the parties are to plead; but when they had agreed that while Asclatarion was alive ... had got ... (but after she has died) ... they have got that ... all he had not with right, but if you have become *tutor* you must first .... Post alia: His excellency Culcianus, prefect of Egypt, said: Without prejudice to the trial which is to take place concerning the inheritance, your statements have been put on record and (you must settle the accounts) of the revenues and expenses before whomsoever you wish to be given to you to audit the accounts. Latin. Appoint the official on the spot to be an auditor. His excellency Culcianus, prefect of Egypt, said: ... and before me the accounts shall be settled and he himself will verify the good faith of the accounts, and if he is away, Marcellinus the official on duty can do this ... lay the settling of the accounts before him ... to Zenagenes and Dioscurides, who is to audit the accounts, (to) be associated with the official on duty. Latin. I call Berenicianus ... these two, namely Dioscurides and Berenicianus, will be ... to be associated with Marcellinus, if Zenagenes is absent. If, however, he is residing in the city, you are to entrust to him alone the settlement of accounts of the revenues and expenses. So far the extract from the memoranda ... (3rd h.) Application of Aristion. On the 18th I presented it to the within-written Thaësis through Thonius the attendant, and she refused to subscribe.'

1 ἔνατον. This is not correct for Maximian, whose eighth consulship it was, but the figure is perhaps due to the *vicennialia* of Diocletian.

2 The λογιστής of A.D. 304 is not known; in A.D. 305 and 306 he was Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion (cf. 895 and 1104). Perhaps we may restore his name here too, or was Zenagenes (ll. 29, 31) logistes?

2-4 For a similar order to an assistant see P. Strassb. 5.

6 δίκης: has κεκημένης or οὖσης been omitted?

κλήρου. In this period the word also means 'inheritance'; cf. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, p. 62.

8 λογοθέτης: cf. 1630 12 n.

στατίζοντα: cf. 2130 21 n.

12 οἴτως: it is not very satisfactory to begin a sentence thus, and it is possible that a low point should be inserted after οἱ and something like ἐπει οὖν ἀνάγκη ἐστι read after it.

17 ἐπιστάμον: cf. 889 8. The word is here apparently synonymous with στατίζω.

20-1 In these lines one would expect the statement that Thaësis had taken away the crops (cf. l. 10); this can, however, hardly be restored in the lacuna.

21 βικεναλόν: cf. Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.*

22-3 The rendering adopted above assumes that τοῦ λαγοθεσίου κτλ. is a summary of the prefect's decision. But other interpretations are possible.

24 The first 'Ρωμαϊκα refers probably to the Latin date, which opened the ὑπομημάτα.

26 This line is exceedingly difficult, and no translation of the middle portion has been attempted. The meaning of the symbol (if symbol it is) after ταῦτα is obscure; hardly for the name of a speaker (cf. Chrest. ii. 95)? It is perhaps a letter or part of a letter (η?) meant for deletion; the following ο may be intended to replace it. For Ιας, Ιες is not impossible. The bearing of Ιδίω τόπῳ is not clear. ἀποκαταστράτω Ιδίω was at first read, with the translation 'the tutor must cede on his own spot', but there is sufficient space between α and τ for at least one letter, and the article would be expected. ἀποκαταστήσας is, however, difficult to fit into the context.

27 For the line before the prefect's name cf. P. Lond. 2565 (*J.E.A.* xxi (1935), p. 225).

29 οὐκ. The κ is very doubtful; οὖν is perhaps better.

επικε: Perhaps ἐπικε(ίται), but ια', as indeed the whole context, is obscure.

32 The words after ὑπομημάτων are probably the copy of the endorsement.

φρ..... It is not possible to read φροντεῖ.

## (b) PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

## 2188. LEASE OF LAND.

20.5 x 7 cm.

A.D. 107.

The document is an ordinary lease of land, by which Teon, son of Nechothenibis, rents land belonging to Sarapion. He acknowledges at the same time that he owes arrears of rent from the preceding years; for a similar case cf., e.g., 501. The beginning is lost.

χ[.]·ντω. [ c. 17 ll. ]

τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως β[ε]βαιουμένης  
ἀποδότω ὁ [με]μισθωμένος τῷ με-  
μισθωκότι{τι} κατ' ἔτος ἀξί{ε}ν μηνὶ Παῦ-  
5 νι ἐφ' ἀλλα Ἐ[π]ισήμου ἐκφ[ο]ρίου πυρὸν  
νέον καθαρὸν ἀδολὸν ἄκριθον κε-  
κοσκινευμένον ὡς εἰς δημόσιον  
μετρούμενον μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ παρα-  
ληπτικῷ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἢ ἀποτισάτ(ω)  
10 δ μεμισθωμένος ὁ ἐὰν προσοφεῖλ(η)  
μεθ' ἡμιολία[ς κ]αὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω τῷ  
μεμισθωκότι ἔκ τε τοῦ μεμισθωμ(ένου)  
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντ(ων).  
κυρίᾳ ἡ μίσθωσις. Λια Αὐτοκράτορος  
15 Καίσαρος Νέρονα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶφι ἵ.  
(2nd h.) Τέων Νεχθενίβιος με-  
μισθωματι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὰ  
τρία ἔτη ἐκφορίου κατ' ἄρου-  
20 ραν τῆς μὲν διετίας τοῦ πυροῦ  
κατ' ἔτος πυρ[οῦ] ἀ[ρ]ραβών  
δέκα, τοῦ δὲ ἰσιόντος ἔτους  
ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο,  
καὶ ὅφελω ἀπὸ λοιπογραφί-  
25 ας τῶν παρωχημένων  
χρόνων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας  
τριάκοντα μίαν τέταρτον

## 2188. LEASE OF LAND

## 143

καὶ ἀποδότω καὶ ἔκαστα ποιή-  
σω ὡς [π]ρόκειται. Βάκχιος

30 Χαιρήμανος ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ]  
αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.  
Λια Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
Νέρονα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ

35 Φαῶφι ἵ.

22 Ι. εἰσόντος

... The lessee shall, when the lease is guaranteed to him, always pay to the lessor as a yearly rent in the month of Payni at the granary of Episemon, new, clean, unadulterated, sifted wheat, with no barley in it, similar to that which is delivered at the public granary, measured by the quarter measure used for payments to Sarapion: or the lessee is to pay any arrears with the addition of half their amount, the lessor to have the right of execution upon both the person and all the property of the lessee. This lease is valid. The eleventh year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 10. (2nd h.) I, Teon, son of Nechothenibis, have taken the land on lease for the three years at a rent per aroura, for the two years under wheat of 10 artabae of wheat per aroura, and of 2 artabae of wheat for the coming year, and I owe arrears for the time which has elapsed, 3½ artabae of wheat, and I will make the payments and do all as aforesaid. I, Bacchius, son of Chaeremon, have written for him, as he is illiterate. The eleventh year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 10.'

20 διετας: apparently the second and third years. Presumably the land was fallow for the coming year.

## 2189. LEASE OF LAND.

A.D. 220.

The present document is a lease of 11½ arourae by Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus to Aurelius Podas for two years at a rent of 51 artabae of lentils; a mere cultivation of the land with lentils, as in our text, is rare: cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, pp. 191–3.

[Ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλίος Σαραπίων  
[ο] καὶ Α]πολλωνιανὸς γυμνασι-  
[α]ρχήσαντος τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν  
πόλεως καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ  
5 Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνος ἐπιτρόπου  
[Αὐ]ρηλίω Ποδάτι Ψεναμο[ύ]νος  
[μη]τρὸς Ταπετσείριος ἀπὸ Σικῶ  
[εῖ]ς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
[γι]τ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων[ν α]ὐτῷ  
10 [πε]ρὶ Σικῶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου  
[....]ρχου καλούμένου ρο-

[....]ος ἀρούρας ἔνδεκα [τέ]τα-  
[ρον], ωστε κατ' [έ]τος σπε[ι]ραι φα-  
[κῶ, ἐκ]φωρίου ἀποτάκτου  
15 [κατ'] ἔτος μέτρω τετάρτ(ω) φακο[ῦ]  
[ἀρτα]βῶν πεντήκοντα μ[ίαν]  
[άκιν]δυνα πάντα παν[τὸς κιν-]  
[δύν]ου, τῶν τῆς γῆς [δημοσίων]  
[όντ]ων πρόδ[η]με[μισθωκότα]  
20 [δὲ καὶ] κυριεύ[ιω τῶν καρπῶν]  
[ἔω]ς τὰ κατ' ε[τος ὀδειλό-]  
[με]γ[α κομίσηται. ἐὰν δέ]  
[τις τοῖς] ἔξης ἔτε[σ]ι [ἄβροχος]  
γένηται, παραδεχθήσ[εται]  
25 τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ, γενο-  
μένης σοι τῆς πράξεως  
ἔκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑ-  
παρχόντων μοι πάντων  
καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία  
30 ή μίσθωσις. Λγ Αὐτοκράτορος  
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
Ἀντωνίου Εύσεβους  
Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶ-  
φι ιγ. Αὐρήλιος Ποδᾶς Ψε-  
35 ναμούνιος ὁ προτετ[α-]  
γμένος μεμίσθωμα  
τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτη δύο  
καὶ ἀποδώσω κατ' ἔτος ἀπο-  
τάκτου φακοῦ μέτρῳ τετάρ-  
40 τῷ ἀρταβῶν πεντήκοντα  
μίαν, πάντα δὲ (ποιήσω) ὡς πρόκιται.  
Αὐρήλιος Διογένης ἔγραψα  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμ-  
ματ[α].

2-3 1. γυμνασιαρχήσας

14 1. ἐκφορίου

27-8 ὑπαρχοντων

41 1. μιᾶς, πρόκειται

'Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus and however he is styled, has leased through his manager Aurelius Ammon to Aurelius Podas son of Psenamunis, his mother being Tapetsiris, of the village of Sko for two years from the present third year of the land belonging to him at the village of Sko in the so-called holding of Apollonius ... eleven and a quarter arourae to be sown with lentils. The rent is fixed at 51 artabae of lentils a year measured by the quarter measure, which shall be free of every risk, the land-tax being paid by the lessor, who shall also be owner of the crops until the rent is paid. If in any of the years there should be a failure of water, an allowance shall be made to the lessee. You shall have the right of execution upon both my person and all my property as by legal decision. The lease is valid. The third year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 13. I, Aurelius Podas, son of Psenamunis, the aforesaid have taken the land on lease for the two years, and I will pay a yearly rent of 51 artabae of lentils measured by the quarter measure, and I will do all as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have written for him, as he is illiterate.'

10-12 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου κτλ. After καλονέμον one would expect κλήρου; owing to this omission it is not possible to restore these lines. κλήρου may be understood or accidentally omitted; and if καλονέμον can be taken as equivalent to τοῦ καὶ (a rather doubtful hypothesis) we might read 'Ρο[δίων]ος; cf. 986, Α[μμωνίου] Α[μμωνίου] τοῦ καὶ 'Ροδίων.

26 σοι. The former part of the document is written in the third person and from the lessor to the lessee; here not only the construction is changed, but also the address.

## 2190. LETTER TO THEON.

27 × 22·6 cm.

Late first century.

This lengthy letter from a son to his father is of more than usual interest. The son writes probably from Alexandria, possibly from some town intermediate between that city and Oxyrhynchus, and after expressing relief at the way his father has taken the news about some happenings in the theatre (from the allusions to broken chariots in ll. 10-11 we might conclude that the son had smashed the family chariot) which were not to his credit, goes on to discuss the shortage of professors and teachers in Egypt. He, together perhaps with a small brother, Diogas (l. 54), is studying in Alexandria, but is not finding it easy to find good lectures; he seems to be supported partly by the earnings of a slave, Heraclas, who has been getting into trouble, and partly by extensive supplies from home the receipt of which he acknowledges. It appears that a tutor (*καθηγητής*) is also required at home; the best the son can find is a certain Didymus, of whom he has the lowest opinion. The letter is vigorous and idiomatic in expression and may occasionally show the influence of the writer's studies (cf. ἔξις in l. 16, l. 37 seq.).

Col. i.

[? Νεῦλος Θ]έωνι τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
[πλεῦστα] χαίρειν.  
[τῆς μὲν παρούσ]ης ἀθυμίας ἀπήλλαξας 'ἡμᾶς' δηλώσας ὡς  
[έστι σοι ἀδιά]φορα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου.  
5 [έγὼ μὲν οὖν φ]θάσας καταπλεῦσαι τυχεῖν λαμπρῶν  
[..... ἀξιό]ν τι τῆς προθυμίας ἔπραξ[ε]α. νῦν  
[γὰρ ἐπιζητῶ]ν Φιλόλογον καὶ Χαιρήμονα τὸν καθη-

L

[γητὴν καὶ Δίδυμον τὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέο[υς] παρ' οἷς  
[έλπις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ] τι κατορθῶσαι, οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ πόλει  
10 [εὖρον ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄρματα {παρ'} οἷς τῇ εὑθεῖαι ὅδωι χρὴ  
[ἀνέλθειν πρόχθ]εις διεφθορόσι (<ώς) καὶ πρότερον σοι ἔγρα-  
[ψα .....] ἔγραψα τοῖς περὶ Φιλόξενον ἐπι-  
[τρεπτέον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑπ' ἐκενων τῷ εὐδοκυμοῦν-  
[τι ..... ὥστ' ἐμὲ παραιτησάμενον Θέωνα εὐθὺς  
15 [καθηγητοῦ τυγχάνε]ψιν καὶ αὐτὸς κατεγνωκὼς αὐτοῦ  
[..... ὡς ἀμ]ελῶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἔξιν. μεταδόν-  
[τος δέ μου Φιλοξένῳ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν  
[ἐπήνει ... α]ὐτὴν μόνην τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀ-  
πορ[ία]ψιν πιναφθὲν τῇ π[ό]λει φάσκων, καταπλε[ύσο]ν-  
20 τα δὲ τὸν Δίδυμον, ὡς ἔοικεν, φίλον ὅντα αὐτῶι καὶ  
σχολῆν ἔχοντα, ἐλεγεν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τῶν ἀλ-  
λων μᾶλλον· καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ {του} Ἡρώ-  
δου παραβαλε[ύ] ἐπειθεν αὐτῶι· καύτοι γάρ με[τ]ὰ τού-  
του δεξ[ι]ώτερον καθηγητὴν ἔως τοῦ νῦν ἐπιζητ[ο]ν-  
25<sup>5</sup> σ[ι]ν ἀπαθανόντος Φιλολόγου ᾧ παρέβαλλον· εὐ-  
ξάμενο[ς] δ' ἄν ἔγωγε εἴπερ ἀξίους λόγου καθηγητὰς  
εὗρον μηδὲ ἐξ ἀπόπτου Δίδυμον ἴδειν, τοῦτο αὐ-  
τὸν ἀθυμῶ ὅτι ἔδοξεν εἰς σύγκρισιν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς  
ἔρχεσθαι οὐτὸς δις ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καθηγεῖτο.

25 l. ἀποθανόντος

Col. ii.

30 τοῦτο οὖν εἰδὼς ὅτι πλὴν τοῦ μάτην μισθοὺς πλείονας  
τελεῖν ἀπὸ καθηγητοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ  
ἔχω. τάχεως ὅ τι ἔαν σοι δοκῇ γράψουν. ᔁχω δὲ  
τὸν Δίδυμον, ὡς καὶ Φιλόξενος λέγει, ἀεί μοι πρ[οσ]εγ-  
καιροῦντα καὶ πᾶν ὅτι δύναται παρεχόμενον. [ἔτι δὲ]  
35 τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἀκροώμενος ὅν ἐστιν ὁ Πο-  
σειδώνιος τάχα θεῶν θελόντων καλῶς πράξομαι.  
ἥ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμίᾳ ἐστιν ἡ ὀλιγωρεῦν τοῦ σώματος  
ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζοντα, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δέον αὐτῶν  
[τ]οὺς μήπω πράσσοντας καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε οὐδὲ οἵ  
40 χαλκὸν εἰσφέροντες εἰσίν· τότε μὲν γάρ πρὸς ημέρας

χρήσιμος Ἡρακλᾶς, κακὸς κακῶς, ὀβόλους ἐπ[ε]ισ-  
έφερεν, νῦν δὲ ἄμα τῷ δεθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώρου, ὥστ[ε]ιρ  
ἥν ἀξιον, ἔφυγεν καὶ ἀνήλθεν, ὡς δοκῶ, πρὸς σέ· ὃν  
εὐ̄ ἴσθι μηδ' ἀν ὀκνήσοντά σοι ποτε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι·  
45 οὐ γάρ ἡσχύνετο πρὸ πάντων μετὰ χαρᾶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
θεάτρου ἐν τῇ πόλει φημίζων καὶ λαλῶν τὰ ψεύ-  
δη ἢ οὐδὲ ἀν κατήγορος εἴποι καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἀξι-  
ον αὐτοῦ πάσχων ἀλλὰ λελυμένος καὶ ὡς ἐλεύθε-  
ρος πάντα ποιῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως δύνῃ εἰ μὴ πέμπεις αὐ-  
50 τὸν παραδοῦναί γε τέκτονι, ἀκούω γάρ ὅτι νεάκι-  
σκος δύο δραχάμας τῆς ημέρας ποιεῖ, ἢ συνζεῦ-  
ξον αὐτὸν ἄλλωι ἔργῳ ὅθεν πλείονα χαλκὸν λή-  
ψεται ἵνα τὸ μισθάριον αὐτοῦ συνλεγόμενον  
πέμπηται ημεῖν διὰ χρόνου· οἶδας γάρ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Δι-  
55 ογᾶς γράμματα μανθάνει· ἐν ᾧ τὸν μεικρὸν πέμ-  
πεις, πλατύτερον ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἰδιωτικῇ τόπον ὀφόμεθα·  
ἵνα γάρ γειτνευσάμεν Διονυσίῳ ἐν μεικρῷ λείαν  
τόπῳ γεγόναμεν. ἐκομισάμεθα τὸν κούκα δ[ι]κρι-  
[βῶ]ς ὅσα ἔγραψας ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄγγη σὺν τῷ ημικαδίῳ  
60 ἐν οἷς εὔρομεν ἀντὶ χοέων ἣ κβ· καὶ ὃν ἔγραψας ἐπει-  
ψα μετ' ἐπιστολῆς ἐκάστωι ημικάδιον τοῦ ὀλοφάκου.  
τὰ ἐξ μέ(τρα) ἔλαβον καὶ κώνον ὅζους πληρὲς καὶ ταριχηρὰ  
κρέα ρκς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κάδωι καὶ τὰ ὄπτα λ.  
ἔρρωσο. Χοιάκ δ.

Verso (along the fibres).

65

]. εθεὶ Νείλου.

50 l. νεάνισκος 51 l. δράχμας 54 l. ημῖν 55 l. μικρὸν 57 l. μικρῶι λίαν 62 l. ὅξους

'Neilus to Theon, his lord and father, very many greetings. You have released me from my present despondency by making it plain that the business about the theatre was a matter of indifference to you. For my part, I've lost no time in sailing down stream to find distinguished . . . and have achieved something that repaid my eagerness. I was looking for Philoxenus and Chaeremon the teacher and Didymus the son of Aristocles as I thought that with them I too might still meet with success, but found them no longer in the city, and the chariots in which the direct journey up to them has to be made were smashed up, as I have already written to you, the day before yesterday . . . I have written to Philoxenus and his friends telling them that they, too, must leave the matter in the hands of the esteemed . . . so that I, after rejecting Theon, may find a teacher as soon as possible, for I myself formed a bad opinion of him . . . for being of so careless a character. When I informed Philoxenus of your opinion he agreed, saying that just in this shortage of professors

... was in the same condition as the city, but he said that Didymus, who, it appears, is a friend of his and has time to spare, would be sailing down and would take more care than the others; he's also persuaded the sons of Apollonius son of Herodes to go to Didymus. For they, too, together with Philoxenus, have been looking until now for a cleverer teacher since Philologus, to whom they used to go, has died. As for myself, if only I had found some decent teachers, I would pray never to set eyes on Didymus, even from a distance—what makes me despair is that this fellow who used to be a mere provincial teacher sees fit to compete with the rest. However, knowing as I do that apart from paying useless and excessive fees there is no good to be had from a teacher, I'm depending on myself. If you've any opinions on the matter, write to me soon. As Philoxenus also says, I've got Didymus always ready to spend his time on me and doing everything in his power. Moreover, with any luck, I shall do well for myself by hearing the lecturers, of whom Posidonius is one. The cause of my despondency about this, which is making me neglect my health, is that those who have not yet succeeded ought not to concern themselves with these matters, especially when there are none who are bringing in any money. For at that time the useful Heraclas—curse him!—used daily to contribute some obols, but now, what with his being imprisoned by Isidorus, as he deserved, he's escaped and gone back, I think, to you. Be assured that he would never hesitate to intrigue against you, for, of all things, he felt no shame at gleefully spreading reports in the city about the incident in the theatre and telling lies such as would not come even from the mouth of an accuser and that too when, so far from suffering what he deserves, he's been released and behaves in every respect like a free man. All the same, if you are not sending him back, you could at any rate hand him over to a carpenter—for I'm told that a young fellow makes two drachmas a day—or put him to some other employment at which he'll earn more money; his wages can then be collected and in due course sent to us, for you know that Diogas, too, is studying. While you are sending the little one, we will look about for more spacious rooms in a private house; for in order to be near to Dionysius we've been living in rooms much too small. We received the basket containing exactly the articles you mentioned and the vessels together with the half-*cadus* jar in which we found 22 *choes* instead of 18. To each of the people of whom you wrote I have sent a half-*cadus* of lentils accompanied by a letter. I have received the six measures and a full *coion* of vinegar and 126 lbs. of salted meat and the contents of the *cadus* and the 30 baked loaves.

'Farewell. Choiak 4.'

6 At the beginning of this line Schubart suggests *φίλων* or *ἀνδρῶν* which by itself would not fill the space; but a non-personal noun in agreement with *λαμπρῶν* is at least possible, and we might expect that the *φίλοι* would have been named.

10 It is difficult to make sense of the *ταρ* in this context, and it seems likely that it is a ditto-graphy from l. 8.

11 *ἔλθει* which might seem more appropriate than *ἀνελθεῖν* is too short. The present, *χρή*, suggests that the reference is general: 'one has to go'.

*διεφθορός*: perhaps attracted into the case of *οἰς* from *διεφθορότα*, or it may be a muddled attempt at the 3rd pers. plur., *διεφθόρασι*; there is probably an allusion to the events referred to in l. 4.

15 *⟨ώς⟩*: to avoid this supplement, *περὶ τούτων* might be placed in the gap in l. 12, but this would make the next sentence rather abrupt.

15 *κ[α]βτὸς* (if the reading is correct) might refer either to the addressee, with a verb, e.g. *ἡσθα* or *ἔχει* to be supplied in the next line or *κατὰ σύνεσιν* to the writer himself; to this interpretation, adopted in the translation, the preceding *ἔμε* is not necessarily a bar.

16 *ἔξιν*: the academic studies of the writer may have suggested this word to him, which has not previously appeared in the papyri.

17-19 If the view taken of this passage in the translation is correct, we must suppose that the main verb (e.g. *ἐπήνει*) occurred at the beginning of l. 18 and that *αὐτὴν* either refers to or is part of the name of a place which is the subject of *φυγῆθεν* and is compared with *τῇ π[ό]λει* (Alexandria); the *μὲν* of l. 17 may be explained as looking forward to the *δε* of l. 20.

*φυγῆθεν*: the *π* and the *α* are both very probable, the *φυγ* is very far from certain.

23 *παραβαλέ[ν]*: this word is used in the transitive sense of *to send someone to school* in 930 21 and frequently in the intransitive sense *to approach, to take oneself to*.

## 2190. LETTER TO THEON

40 *πρὸς ἡμέραν* is cited in the new edition of Liddell and Scott from Charito = *daily*, and presumably the plural has the same meaning here. If the sense was *for some* (i.e. *a few*) days (cf. the use of *πρὸς χρόνον*), we might expect a more emphatic expression.

41 *ὁ χρήσιμος*: perhaps ironic.

*κακὸς κακῶς*: parallels to this collocation are cited by Moulton and Milligan (*The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v.) only from inscriptions, not from papyri, and in those, as in Matt. xxi. 41, it is always found with a word involving death or destruction; this is also the case with the examples given in the new edition of Liddell and Scott. Probably something like *δλοτο* is tacitly to be understood here. This seems preferable to interpreting it as either 'wretch that he is' or 'in his incompetent fashion', which are alternative renderings.

45 *πρὸ πάντων*: either (as in the translation) *before everything else*, i.e. *worst of all*, or *in front of everybody*; in view of the *ἐν τῇ πόλει* of the next line, the latter is less likely.

57 *γειτνιευσάμεν*: this form of *γειτνιᾶν* has not apparently occurred before.

## 2191. LETTER FROM PUTEOLI.

11·2×22·2 cm.

Second century.  
Plate XIV.

Antonius writes to Dionysius to inform him that he and his family have arrived safely at Puteoli in Italy and that their voyage had not been attended by the usual discomforts. What his business in Italy was he does not say; it may well have been concerned with the grain trade. The body of the letter and the address were probably dictated to a professional scribe; but his hand, if he was a native of Puteoli, hardly differs from the Egyptian hands of the period.

[Αντώνιος] Διονυσίῳ κ[αὶ]

[.....][ρωνι] τ[οῖς] φ[ιλ]λ[α]

[τάτωι] χαιρ[ειν].

Ἐπ[ιβάς τῆς] Ἰταλικῆς χώρας

5 ἀγ[αγ]κ[αῖ]ον γῆγησάμην

δη[λῶσα]ι ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔρρω-

μ[α]ι σὺν τοῖς ἐμάντοῦ,

τῶι βραδυπλοία' μὲν

χρησάμεν[ος ο]ύ μῆν

10 δυσπλοίας τό τε σωμά-

τιόν μου οὐδενὸς ἐ-

πειράθη δυσχεροῦ

τῶν εἰωθότων γινέσ-

θαι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς

15 πρῶτοις πλέοντιν.

ἔρρωμένοι επ[ι]...τα

λι...ι[...] τὸν πατέρα

[κ. αικλη...] τ. φο[...] ἀσπασι

(2nd h.)

(3rd h.)      ἐγρ(άφη) ἐν Πυτιόλοις  
20                Παῦν δ.

Verso.

Διονυσίῳ(ω) ἐπιτρό(πω) Ἀντωνίου Π[τολ]εμαίου.  
8 l. τῆ

'Antonius to his dearest Dionysius, greeting. I felt it incumbent on me, as soon as I set foot in Italy, to let you know that I and my family are in good health. We had a slow passage, but not a bad one, and my poor self experienced no discomfort such as usually occurs, particularly on one's first voyage. (2nd h.) ...

(3rd h.) Written in Puteoli, Pauni 4. (Addressed) To Dionysius, overseer, from Antonius, son of Ptolemaeus.

8 βραδυπλοίαι : the word is new, but cf. βραδυπλοέω, e.g. in Acts xxvii. 7. The τῷ may indicate that the writer first intended βραδυπλοεῖν.

10 The diminutive σωμάτιον when used in its primary sense (not, e.g., as *corpse* or *slave*) appears to refer particularly to the body in sickness; cf. 939 21 and 26 (*νοσηλότερον δὲ δύως τὸ σωμάτιον ἔχει sc. αὐτὴν*), P. Cair. Zen. 254.

16-18 These lines, though most of the letters are clearly preserved, are written in so illegible a cursive that I feel little confidence in any of the readings. In l. 16 εσ or σε might be read for επ: the word at the end of this line and the beginning of the next may have been Ἰταλικόν: if the τ in l. 18 can be otherwise read, the word before ασπασαι may be δύψε.

21 There is no mark of abbreviation after the ιοι as there is after επιτρο, but the name of the addressee must have stood here. It is more likely that παρὰ has fallen out before Ἀντωνίου than that the latter is dependent on ἐπιτρό(πω). In the latter case, the words may have been added to identify Dionysius, and Antonius may not be the writer's name.

## 2192. LETTER ABOUT BOOKS.

Frag. (a) 21 x 23 cm.

Second century.

The main fragment of this letter contains the right side of the first column and the second column almost complete; a second fragment contains the left-hand bottom corner of col. i, but the gap between the two fragments is considerable. There is also a number of small fragments not directly connecting with either of the other two.

The main body of the letter is written in a large and flowing semi-literary hand, matched by a clear and literary style (to judge from the little which survives of this part of the document). The writer then added a note in his own hand requesting his correspondent to have copies made of some books he wanted and suggesting where they could be obtained; the third part of the letter may have been a hasty reply jotted down by the recipient or more probably a note by another member of the family or circle, correcting and adding to the preceding note. The interest of the letter lies in the picture it suggests of a circle of friends at Oxyrhynchus all interested in the acquisition of books and getting their friends to have copies made of works not in their possession. Side by side with this system of private borrowing and copying, we have (l. 37) an allusion to the book-trade.

No trace of the address has survived on the verso: the ink-marks visible are offsets made when the letter was folded.

Col. i.

] τῶ[ι]

φιλτάτωι] χαίρειν

] οτε διὰ τοῦτ' ε-

] ωτου οὐδὲν η

] τοι καὶ Διονυσίου

]ι παρεγ[ε]ίνετο

]. ἀλλ' ἔουκας ν

]ι εἰ δ' ἔρρωσθε

] περὶ ὧν ἐνέτει-

]μα τῇ ἀναγωγῇ

τ]ῶι Ἀμύντᾳ[ι] βου-

] γινόμενον' ἵ ἐπὶ

] περί σου φ[.]α

] ὑπέρ Ιμέρου

]ης ἐὰν δεῆ περὶ

5

10 λα

15

(2nd h.)

]. πεφ[ γ]ράμμα

Col. ii.

(1st h.) 20 οὔτε δύναμαι οὔτ' εἰ ἡδυνάμην  
τῶν ἀναγκαίων τινὰ εἰς τοιαύ-  
την χρείαν ἐνέβαλλον ἄν καὶ  
μάλιστα ἐξ ὅν νῦν περὶ τῶν  
τοιούτων ἐπυθόμην [απο].

(2nd h.) 25 ἐρώσθαι σε εὑχομαι κύριέ μου ἄδελφε.  
[λογου των]  
[τι]

‘Υψικράτους τῶν κωμω-  
δουμένων ἢ ποιή-  
σας μοι πέμψον. φησὶ γάρ

Ἄρποκρατίων ἐν τοῖς  
Πιωλίωνος αὐτὰ βιβλί-  
οις εἶναι. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἀλλοις  
αὐτὰ ἔσχηκέναι. καὶ λόγῳ  
35 ἐπιτομὰς τῶν Θερσαγόρου  
τῶν τραγικῶν μίθων ἔχει.

(3rd h.)      ἔχει δὲ αὐτὰ Δημήτριος δὲ βιβλιοπώλης,  
                  ώς φησὶν Ἀρποκρατίων. ἐπέσταλκα Ἀπολ-  
                  λωνίδηι πέμψαι μοι ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν  
40 βιβλίων τιν[ὰ ἄ]περ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴση  
Σὲ[λ]εύκου δι[ὰ] τῶν χρόνων [...] ἐὰν εὐ-  
ρίσκῃς μεθ' ἀ ἔγὼ κέκτημαι ποιήσαι[s]  
μο[ι] πέμψον. ἔχονοι δὲ 'καὶ' οἱ περὶ Διό-  
δωρ[οι] ὃν οὐ κέκτημαί τια.

(4th h.) 45      ] Διονυσ[ι]ο[...] .μψ.

Col. ii. 'I am not able to, nor were I able, would I put any relation of mine in such a difficult position, especially after what I have just learnt in such cases. (2nd h.) I pray for your health, my lord brother.'

'Make and send me copies of books 6 and 7 of Hypsicrates' *Characters in Comedy*. For Harpocration says that they are among Polion's books. But it is likely that others, too, have got them. He also has prose epitomes of Thersagoras' work on the myths of tragedy.'

'(3rd h.) According to Harpocration Demetrius the bookseller has got them. I have instructed Apollonides to send me certain of my own books which you will hear of in good time from Seleucus himself. Should you find any, apart from those which I possess, make copies and send them to me. Diodorus and his friends also have some which I haven't got ...'

<sup>7</sup> Or εοικα στ[ο].

<sup>12</sup> The iota written above the line may have been meant to cancel the final nu of γυνομενον.

<sup>14</sup> For Ἰμερος as a proper name (probably a slave name), cf. B.G.U. iv. 1114, 2, etc.

<sup>19</sup> This line written at the bottom of the page is probably a memorandum with no relation to the body of the letter.

<sup>26</sup> The writer may have intended here to give a list of books wanted.

<sup>28</sup> A number of scholars (including Aristarchus) are known to have written *Kωμῳδούμενοι*, i.e. works on the prosopography of comedy (see Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, I. i, p. 632<sup>3</sup>), but none is known to have been attributed to the name of Hypsicrates. The Hypsicrates may have been the philologist and historian of Amasea : see RE. ix. 2, col. 434.

<sup>34</sup> λογω: the form of the ω is peculiar, but λόγον cannot be read. The phrasing in this and in the following note is loose.

<sup>35</sup> No writer of the name of Thersagoras is known. We may recall the papyrus fragment entitled περὶ μίθων published by J. G. Winter in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* liii (1922), pp. 136-41, and such mythological texts as P. Ryl. 22 and 40.

<sup>37</sup> βιβλιοπώλης: this word is new to the papyri. As the letter was sent to Oxyrhynchus and this note was perhaps an answer added by the recipient, Demetrius' shop may have been at Oxyrhynchus; but see the introduction. It may, however, be an intimation to the recipient that he will find the book at a shop in Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>42</sup> μεθ' ἀ: μετά is probably used not as in μεθ' ἔτερα, but in the sense *outside, except*, as, e.g., in P. Flor. 338, 9.

## BYZANTINE DOCUMENTS

## 2193. GRAECO-LATIN LETTER.

9·4×26·5 cm.

Fifth/sixth century

This and the following letter, written partly in Latin, partly in Greek, are unique of their kind. The quotations from the O.T. and the general tone of the letters suggest that the writer of them, Theon, was a priest ; that the recipient Pascentius is addressed as *servus dei* need mean no more than that he was a pious layman. Both are requests to help a third party, and Pascentius was probably a man of some influence and standing ; we may compare the letter of the priest Kaor of Hermopolis to Abinnaeus, pleading for a deserter (P. Lond. ii. 417, p. 299). What is most remarkable is the form of the letters: first comes a general sentence, probably a Biblical quotation, in Latin (that prefixed to 2194 is more complex), then the greeting followed by another Biblical quotation urging the duty and the benefits of charity, then in each case the theme of the letter is introduced with διό. With the address the writer returns to Latin.

The Latin is written in a square and heavy cursive, probably of the late fifth or early sixth century (to judge from a dated text in the Rylands Collection) ; but though the scribe's knowledge of Greek appears to have been better than his Latin, the influence of the Latin script on the Greek is very marked. For Greek δ and η he uses the Latin d and h, while ω is represented by u.

Unamortis condidit  
deus lues autem com  
m[o]rtis fieri.

Χαῖρε ἐν κ(υρι)ῷ Θ(ε)ῷ σωτη-

5 ρίμῳ, φιλάγαθε Πασκέντιε,  
διὰ Θέωνος.

ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ σὲ δ  
θειότατος καὶ παρα-

10 κλητικὸς λόγος  
τὸ μή σε ἐκκλεινέ-  
τω ἐκῶν δ νοῦς  
μηδὲ παρεύδης  
δέησιν πενήτω(ν)

15 τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ  
δύτων· διὸ ἐλ-  
θοῦσα ἡ γραῦς  
ἡτήσατο γράμματα

πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐνθε-  
ον γνώμην ἐκδιη-  
γησαμένη ὅτι ἀδι-  
κοῦμαι καὶ τὸν νιό(ν)  
μου ἀδικοῦσιν.  
γνῶθι οὖν ἀσφαλῶς  
(At right angles, in the left margin)  
εἰ ἔχει τινὰ δικαιολογίαν καὶ σύνελθε ὁσίως.

Verso.

Redde Pascentio serbo dei tempore.

1-3 See note 4 κῶ θῶ 13 l. παρίδης 14 πεντῶ 26 l. servo

'God made men immortal but evil caused them to become subject to death. Greeting in the Lord. God of salvation, beneficent Pascentius, from Theon. The most holy and spiritual word has come upon you, *Let not thy mind of its own will turn thee aside neither neglect the supplication of the poor, of them that are in distress*. Wherefore the old woman came and demanded letters to your inspired judgement, "I am being wronged," she recounted, "and they are wronging my son." Make quite sure therefore if there is any justice in her plea and assist her as a Christian should. (Verso.) Deliver in good time to Pascentius, servant of God.'

1-3 This passage seems reminiscent of Wisdom ii. 23-4, which in the Vulgate version (actually in this book Jerome took over the Old-Latin version with very few changes) runs: *Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum: invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in illum*. If the writer had this passage in mind it is clear that the version known (however imperfectly) to him was not the Vulgate, and we must emend the *una to im* and assume that *al* has fallen out in ll. 1 and 3: *immort(al)es condidit deus lues autem comm(o)rl(al)es fieri* (understanding, e.g., *efficit* with the second clause). Neither *lues* nor *commortalis* occurs at all in the Vulgate, which would again indicate that the writer was thinking of a completely different Latin version. With *condidit* we may compare the *ἐκτισεν* of the Septuagint. Some drastic emendation is in any case necessary, and I can think of none that would involve fewer changes than the above.

4 σωτῆριος is not known to the lexicon; probably we should correct to *σωτηρίῳ*.

6 διά here appears in place of *παρά*, a usage occasionally found in accounts to record a payment made by or due from someone (see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache*, p. 29). This is the first instance of its use to denote the writer of a letter.

7 For *φθάνειν εἰς* cf., e.g., Luke xi. 20.

11-12 = Job xxxvi. 19. This passage in the Hebrew is very corrupt and the Septuagint gives a paraphrase of doubtful meaning. The writer of this letter seems to have understood it as an exhortation to mercy.

13-16 A reminiscence of Eccl. xxxii (xxxv). 17 οὐ μὴ παρίδῃ (ὑπερίδῃ B) ἱκετίαν ὄρφανοῦ and Ps. ix. 13 οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τῆς δεήσεως τῶν πενήντων (cf. also Ps. liv. 1). For τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ δυτῶν cf. Job xxxvi. 19.

26 Cf. Rom. vi. 22 δονλωθέντες τῷ Θεῷ and St. Paul's frequent δοῦλος Χριστοῦ. δοῦλοι Θεοῦ occurs several times in Revelation, e.g. xv. 3.

## 2194. GRAECO-LATIN LETTER.

25×9·5 cm.

Fifth/sixth century.

See the introduction to 2193.

[.....]os et probatos et imperatō  
rum et senatorum et maximō dissertō et pau-  
peros unamortis condidit deus lues autem  
5 commortis fieri." *Φιλαγάθῳ Πασκεντίῳ Θέων.*  
*Εὖ ποίησον, φησίν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἔξεις τὸ ἀνταπόδομα, ἐὰν δ[ε]*  
*μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τῷ ὑψίστῳ. διὸ Παῦλος ὁ οὐετρανὸς*  
*σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς δόμονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ὑπερευχαριστοῦσι τῷ θ(ε)ῷ ἐπὶ τῇ*  
*οπουδῆ ὑμῶν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν· προσθήσεται δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῖς*  
10 [εὐ]ποιεῖσι πρὸς τὸ μῆθεις τῶν ἐκτὸς ὀχλήσιεν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ πλοίου.

(At right angles, along the fibres)

[.....]ο[.....]οχθεισω[  
[.....]ρισηται α[

Verso.

Serbo dei tem pore Pascentio.

2 l. imperatorum 3 l. diserto pauperes 4 l. immort(al)es (see note to 2193 1-3) 5 l. com-  
mорт(al)es 7 l. οὐετρανὸς 9 υμων 10 l. μηδένα ὀχλήσειν 13 l. servo

' (?) all men, bad and good, emperors and senators, the mighty, the eloquent, the poor, God created immortal, but evil caused them to become subject to death. Theon to the beneficent Pascentius. Do good, He saith, to a man and thou shalt obtain thy reward, if not from him, yet at the hands of the Most High. Wherefore Paul the veteran together with all that are of like mind continue to give abundant thanks to God for your most excellent zeal. Do you add to your benefits towards him and see that none of those outside trouble him in the matter of the boat. . . .'

(Verso) 'To the servant of God, Pascentius, in good time.'

1 The space between this line and l. 2 is larger than usual; possibly the single letter of which a trace survives was *π(αρά)*, which often appears at the head of Byzantine letters. Otherwise, more ought to be visible.

2-3 I have been unable to find any source in the Bible for these words. If ll. 4-5 conceal a biblical quotation (see 2193 2-3 note), these words at any rate do not belong to the context of the passage paraphrased; but the writer had no objection to mixing his quotations. The grammar is equally obscure; possibly (as assumed in the translation), the writer intended all the nouns to be in the accusative. The line over the *o* of *imperatorum* can only mark the quantity; in the next line it may be meant to mark an abbreviation of the accusative or genitive termination.

4-5 See 2193 1-3 note.

6-7 An inaccurate quotation from Eccl. xii. 2 εὖ ποίησον εὐσεβεῖ, καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀνταπόδομα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Υἱούστον.

8 ὑπερευχαριστοῦσι: the construction is *κατὰ σύνεσιν*.10 ὀχλήσιν commonly takes the accusative, *ἐνοχλεῖν* the dative.

## 2195. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS FROM AND EXPENDITURE ON ESTATES.

34×367 cm.

Sixth century.

This detailed account of income and expenditure in corn and money from the estates of the Apion family is closely similar to 1911 and 1912; but for the most part it deals with different districts and a number of new names, both personal and

geographical, and of new items occur. It cannot be exactly dated; but the hand is of an advanced type and hence it is probable that the Strategius mentioned in l. 108 is the second of that name (see the tree of the Apion family in E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, p. 38) and the tenth indiction of our document may be the year 576 (if Apion II died in 577 the accounts for the preceding year might have been addressed to his successor). The receipts are classified according to districts; the accounts of expenditure are arranged in a very haphazard fashion. The accounting is often far from exact, particularly when it is a question of conversion from one standard to another. Of the first column only a few figures remain. The abbreviations and symbols are those already known from P. Oxy. xvi: the diaeresis is employed frequently, but unsystematically, and its presence is not indicated in the text.

## Col. ii.

*'Eποικ(ίου) Τίλλωνος*

π(a.) Ἡλίου Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Παμουθίου Ἀπίας σίτου (ἀρτ.) πβ∠d  
χο(ίν.) α νο(μ.) ε∠κδ'

π(a.) Μαξίμου δι(ὰ) Ἀνουθίου ἄπα "Ωρου καὶ Παναῦ Αλυπίου σίτου (ἀρτ.) ος  
χο(ίν.) β νο(μ.) εη'

π(a.) Ἀπολλῶ Κοράλλει δι(ὰ) Πέτρου πρε(σβυτέρου) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου (ἀρτ.)  
ο d νο(μ.) δβ/κδ'ς'

5 π(a.) Πέτρου Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ κώμης Σιναρὺ σίτου (ἀρτ.) ο∠d χο(ίν.) ε νο(μ.) s  
π(a.) Αλυπίου δι(ὰ) Ἰωσὴφ Ἀτρῆτος καὶ Παανοῦτος ἄπα "Ωρο(ν) δι(ὰ) Μηνᾶ  
Πτοκήμο(ν) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ριη χο(ίν.) γ νο(μ.) θγ'κδ'μη'  
π(a.) Πβουθίου δι(ὰ) Παμουθίου Ἀπίας ἀπὸ Τίλλωνος σίτου (ἀρτ.) οα χο(ίν.) β  
νο(μ.) εκδ'

π(a.) Ἰωάννου δι(ὰ) Ἰωσὴφ Μαξίμου ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) κτήμ(ατος) σίτου (ἀρτ.)  
πζ∠ νο(μ.) sγ'

π(a.) ..φιμον Ἰουλίου δι(ὰ) Φιλοξένου ..υσιου ἀπὸ Σιναρὺ σίτου (ἀρτ.) ριγ  
νο(μ.) η∠

10 π(a.) τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κτ[ή]μ(ατος) σίτου (ἀρτ.) γd  
χο(ίν.) ε νο(μ.) ακδ'μη'  
π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κτήμ(ατος) Τίλλωνος σίτου (ἀρτ.) s∠ χο(ίν.) δ  
νο(μ.) ημη'

π(a.) Ἡλίου Πέτρου πρεσβυτέρ(ον) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτ[ο(ῦ)] κτήμ(ατος) σίτου (ἀρτ.)  
γd χο(ίν.) β νο(μ.) dς'

## 2195. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

## 157

π(a.) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄπα "Ωρου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτο[(:ν)] κτῆμ(ατος) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ε νο(μ.)  
γκ[δ']

π(a.) Παύλου Κρικιανοῦ σίτου κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρτ.) κς νο(μ.) α[.]

15 π(a.) κληρ(ονόμων) Φιλοξένου ἀπὸ Σκυταλίτιδος κ[(αι)] τῶν ἀπὸ Τίλλωνος σίτου  
(ἀρτ.) λγd χο(ίν.) s νο(μ.) β[.ς]ς'

π(a.) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ φόρο(ν) τῶν β" ἀ[ρτοκοπ]ίων νο(μ.) α[.]

π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ἐποικ(ίου) [.....]ος ὑ(πὲρ) ἐκτάκτ(ης) τρύγης  
σίτου γ νο(μ.) [...]κ[δ'] (δημάρια) 'Βψ

π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ἐποικ(ίου) [.....]ος ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτ(ων) χωρίων  
νο(μ.) [

π(a.) Πέτρου ἀπὸ Δοσιθέο[ν] κ[.....]ωνος ἀπὸ Τίλλωνος σίτου (ἀρτ.) γd  
χο(ίν.) β[.]

20 π(a.) Μαξίμου Κάλου δι(ὰ) Ἀτ[ρῆτος.....]. καὶ Μουσαίο(ν) Παπαύεε σίτου  
κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) οζ

π(a.) Κύρρα Κ...[.....]να καὶ Ψεναμούν(ιος) Γερμάνο(ν) σίτου (καγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) πδ[.]

π(a.) Φιβ[.]Ἀλ[.....]λω Μαρίας σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λ

π(a.) Ἰωά[ννου.....]πακλεωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) σίτου κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) [

25 π(a.) Φοιβάμ[μωνος .....] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [σ]τ[ρου]

19 1. Δωσιθέου.

Col. iii.

π(a.) Ἡρακλείου ἐπίκληη Φάνονε διὰ Φιβ[.]Ἐρμίνου σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λζ  
νο(μ.) ε∠

π(a.) Μαξίμου[ον] καὶ Ἰουλίου Πραινοῦτος σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λ νο(μ.) ββ/

π(a.) Παμοῦν Πάμοκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) η∠ νο(μ.) γd'

π(a.) Ἰωσὴφ Ἐρμίνου ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Σιναρὺ νο(μ.) ∠

30 π(a.) Ἀλυπ[ίο]ν Τάρωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κδ  
π(a.) Κολλούθου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λ  
π(a.) Ἡρακλείδου Σοφίας δι(ὰ) Μαξίμου Χεκοῦλ νο(μ.) α  
π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑπὲρ φόρου ἀρτοκοπίου σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.)  
κεδ' χο(ίν.) γ

π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑπὲρ συντελ(είας) κεφαλῆς νο(μ.) β

- 35 π(a.) Παύλου ἐλαιουρ(γοῦ) ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐλαιουργίου νο(μ.) α  
 π(a.) Παμουθίου Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) [νο(μ.)] α  
 π(a.) τῶν γεωργῶν μηχα(νῆς) Μεγάλ[ου] Γηδίου ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ιβ $\angle$  (ἀρουρῶν) θ  
 σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λα $\angle$  νο(μ.) βδ'  
 π(a.) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) [το]ῦ Τρύφωνος γο(μ.)  $\angle$   
 'Ἐποικ(ίου) [Α]ρουρῆς
- 40 π(a.) κληρ(ονόμων) Παμουθίου(ν) Μαξίμου [τοῦ] Παμουθίο(ν) καὶ κοινων(ῶν)  
 σίτου (ἀρτ.) πα νο(μ.) εδ'μη'  
 π(a.) κληρ(ονόμων) Ἰωάννου καὶ κληρ[(ονόμων) ...]γο(ν) καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δι(ὰ)  
 Ἰωάννο(ν) σι(τομέτρου) οἴκο(ν) σίτου (ἀρτ.) η  
 π(a.) κληρ(ονόμων) Παπνουθίου μ[.....]τοδώρο(ν) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ι  
 π(a.) τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προ[κ(ειμένων) γεω]ργ(ῶν) δι(ὰ) Παμο(ν)θίο(ν) Πανο(ν)φίο(ν)  
 σίτου (ἀρτ.) κε  
 π(a.) Ἰωσήφ Ἀνοῦπ υ[.....]ως σίτου (ἀρτ.) ζ $\angle$   
 45 π(a.) Πανηόντος καὶ Παπ[.....]ναπον ἀπὸ Ἰσιχίο(ν) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ι  
 π(a.) Μηνᾶ Ἡοῦτος καὶ Κ[.....]ονίο(ν) δι(ὰ) Ἰουλίο(ν) Ισαὰκ σίτου  
 (ἀρτ.) ι  
 π(a.) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν [γεωρ(γῶν) .....] νο(μ.) α $\angle$ γ'  
 π(a.) τῶν γεωρ[γῶν] ..... ὑπὲρ συντελ(εῖας) κεφαλ(ῆς) (δημαρίων μυριάδες) Γ  
 εἰς νο(μ.)  $\angle$ κδ'μη'
- Col. iv.
- 'Ἐποικ(ίου) Καινοῦ περὶ Ταλάω δίκαιο(ν) Διογένους
- 50 π(a.) κληρ(ονόμων) Ἀνουθίο(ν) καὶ Πανουφίου δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Σαργανίου καὶ  
 κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) δ  
 π(a.) Παύλου πωμαρ(ίτου) καὶ Ἀβρααμίου Σεμόρη σίτου (ἀρτ.) δ  
 'Ἐποικ(ίου) Ταγχέω καὶ Σύφεως  
 π(a.) Φοιβάμμωνος ἐπίκλην Πανσοῦρι καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δι(ὰ) Κολλούθου καὶ ἀπα  
 "Ωρου ἀπὸ Νεκώνθεως σίτου (ἀρτ.) ριε $\angle$  νο(μ.) η  
 55 π(a.) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος Πανσοῦρι σίτου (ἀρτ.) ια νο(μ.) α  
 καὶ ἀπὸ δικαίο(ν) Ἀντιόχου  
 π(a.) Ἀπολλῶ Βασιλίου ἀπὸ Ταγχέω σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρθ $\angle$ δ' νο(μ.) ι $\angle$   
 π(a.) Παμουθίου Ἀρωνος ἀπὸ Σύφεως σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρθ $\angle$ δ' νο(μ.) ι $\angle$   
 'Ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀμωκος
- 60 π(a.) Ἀπολλῶ Ζωΐο(ν) καὶ Πατεύω ἀπὸ Ἀμωκος σίτου (ἀρτ.) ν χο(ν.) β  
 νο(μ.) γ $\angle$ δ'

- Ἐποικ(ίου) Ἐρωτος
- π(a.) Μαξίμο(ν) Πεκυσίο(ν) πρε(σβυτέρου) δι(ὰ) Πέτρο(ν) Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ(ῦ) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρθ νο(μ.) ζδ'  
 π(a.) Ἀπφοῦτος καὶ Φ[οιβάμμωνος ἀπα Σιρίου σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρθ νο(μ.) ζδ'  
 π(a.) Μαξίμο(ν) Πεκυσίο(ν) πρε(σβυτέρου) δι(ὰ) ἀ[πα] Σιρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ(ῦ)  
 σίτου (ἀρτ.) μς νο(μ.) βγ'  
 65 π(a.) Παμουθίου Ἰωάννο(ν) δι(ὰ) Ἀγ[οῦ]π ἀπὸ Τίλλαχωνος σίτου (ἀρτ.) νβ  
 νο(μ.) γ  
 π(a.) Ὡρου καὶ Ἀπφοῦτος καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος Φαριτᾶ [η] ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος)  
 Κόσμον σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρι νο(μ.) ηγ'  
 π(a.) Ἰωσήφ Μαξίμου ἀπὸ Ἐρωτος σίτου (ἀρτ.) ε  
 π(a.) Ἰακώβ ἀπα Σιρίου ἀπὸ Κόσμου σίτου (ἀρτ.) ε $\angle$   
 70 π(a.) τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Τίλλαχων σίτου (ἀρτ.)  $\angle$ δ' χο(ν.) β  
 π(a.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) .. πε( ) ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκτο(ν) χωρ(ίου) νο(μ.) θ  
 Col. v.  
 π(a.) τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) φόρ(ον) ἀρτοκοπίου νο(μ.)  
 α $\angle$ γ'  
 π(a.) Φιλοξένου πορθμαρ(ίου) ὑπὲρ φόρο(ν) πορθμ(είου) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) λ  
 καὶ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ι  
 γί(νεται) λήμμ(ατα) τῆς αὐτῆς ι" ἵνδ(ικτίονος) σίτου μέτρω(ψ) (ἀρτ.) Βωιθ $\angle$  χο(ν.) α  
 αἱ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ἔξ (ἐκατοστῶν) (ἀρτ.) ιε  
 75 γ(ν.) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) Γσμβ $\angle$  χο(ν.) ζ ἄλλ(αι) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ψξε $\angle$  χο(ν.) ζ  
 γ(ν.) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) Δηδ $\angle$  χο(ν.) ι καὶ  
 ἀργυρικ(ῶν) σὺν ρο(πῆ) νο(μ.) τηγ $\angle$ κδ'μη'ζ' καὶ (δημαρίων μυριάδες) ,Εψ καὶ  
 κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ι ἀφ' (ῶν)  
 φέρεται δι(ὰ) κόμιτος προ(νοητοῦ) Σκυταλίτιδος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Ππολεμαίδος  
 σίτου (ἀρτ.) τκς $\angle$ δ' χο(ν.) β καὶ νο(μ.) λε $\angle$ κδ'ζ' καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντ(ων) ἐν κώμ(η)  
 Δωσιθέο(ν)  
 σίτου (ἀρτ.) οδ' χο(ν.) ε νο(μ.) ε $\angle$ ιβ' γί(ν.) αἱ ὁφειλ(όμεναι) ἡνέχθ(ησαν) δι(ὰ)  
 κόμιτος προ(νοητοῦ)  
 80 Σκυταλίτιδος σίτου (ἀρτ.) τqζ χο(ν.) ζ αἱ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) υνς $\angle$ δ' χο(ν.) ιη  
 σὺν ρο(πῆ) νο(μ.) μαη'ζ' ὡς λοιπ(ὰ) λήμμ(ατα) ι" ἵνδ(ικ.) [σίτου] κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.)  
 Γφνα $\angle$  χο(ν.) ι  
 καὶ σὺν ρο(πῆ) νο(μ.) τιβγ'κδ'μη' καὶ (δημαρίων μυριάδες) ,Εψ καὶ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ι  
 79 ηνεχ̄: so elsewhere.

Col. vi.

ἐξ ὀντὸς ἀνηλώθ(η) ἐπὶ τῆ(s) αὐτῆς ι ὑδ(ικ.) οῦτ(ως)·  
 εἰς τὰς ἄγι(ας) ἐκκλ(ησίας) τῶν ἔξης κτημ(άτων) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σύτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.)  
 κδ $\angle$ χο(ίν.) σ νο(μ.) ββ/ π(αρὰ) γ $\angle$   
 85 οῦ(τως)·  
 ἐκκλ(ησία) Εὐαγγελίου (ἀρτ.) σ νο(μ.)  $\angle$ π(α.)  $\angle$  ἐκκλ(ησία) Τίλλωνος (ἀρτ.)  
 δ νο(μ.)  $\angle$ π(α.)  $\angle$   
 ἐκκλ(ησία) "Ἐρωτος (ἀρτ.) σ νο(μ.)  $\angle$ π(α.)  $\angle$  ἐκκλ(ησία) Νεκώνθεως (ἀρτ.) β  
 νο(μ.) β/ π(α.) α $\angle$   
 ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἀρούρ(ης) (ἀρτ.) γδ' χο(ίν.) η εἰς τὸν Ἀρχάγγελ(ον) Μιχαὴλ (ἀρτ.)  
 γδ' χο(ίν.) η αἱ προκ(είμεναι)  
 τῷ προνοητ(ῷ) λόγῳ ὀψωνίου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος (ἀρτ.) κδ νο(μ.) β π(α.) ε ἀφ' (ῶν)  
 ἡνέχθ(ησαν)  
 90 δι(α) τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) Πτολεμαῖδος (ἀρτ.) η νο(μ.) β/ π(α.) α $\angle$  λοιπ(αὶ) σύτου  
 κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ις νο(μ.) αγ' π(α.) γ $\angle$   
 τοῖς πλινθ(ευταῖς) πλινθεύουσι(ν) ἐν τοῖς ἔξης κτήμ(ασιν) ὑπὲρ μισθο(ῦ) ὀπτ(ῆς)  
 πλινθ(ον)  
 (μυριάδων) κ σὺν μισθο(ῦ) οἰκοδομ(ῆς) σύτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιε νο(μ.) δ π(α.) ιδ  
 οῦ(τως)·  
 Εὐαγγελίο(ν) (μυριάδων) δ Τίλλωνος (μυριάδων) δ "Ἐρωτος (μυριάδων) δ  
 Νεκώνθεως (μυριάδων) δ Ἀρούρης (μυριάδων) δ αἱ προκεί(μεναι)  
 95 συνεχω[ρ]ήθη τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) ἐποικ(ίου) Τίλλωνος ὑπὲρ φ[ό]ρο(ον) τῶν γ ἀρουρ(ῶν)  
 μηχ(ανῆς) καλονμέ(νης) Ἀρσενίο(ν)  
 ἐξ ἀπηλιώτο(ν) Κάστορος ἀνεπιδρ[.]..( ) (ἀρτ.) ια $\angle$  χο(ίν.) β αἱ σύτου κ(αγκ.)  
 (ἀρτ.) ιγδ' χο(ίν.) β νο(μ.)  $\angle$ δ' μηχ' ζσ'  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ Ταγχέων ὑπὲρ δημ(οσίων) ἀρουρ(ῶν) ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) Νεκώνθεως σύτου κ(αγκ.)  
 (ἀρτ.) ιη νο(μ.) α  
 τῷ κόμε(τι) Ιούστω Εὐδαίμωνος ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς μηχανῆς καλονμέ(νης) Φαναποῦ  
 ἐν κωμ(ῇ) Σιναρὺ ἀπὸ σύ(του) (ἀρτ.) ριγ καὶ νο(μ.) η $\angle$ γ' ιβ' ἀφ' ὀν ἡνέχθ(ησαν)  
 100 εἰς τὸ λῆμμα(τοῦ) τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) σύτου μέτρω(α) (ἀρτ.) κθ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) ε καὶ νο(μ.)  
 δ $\angle$ γ' ιβ' λοιπ(αὶ)  
 τῷ προ(νοητοῦ) πγδ' χο(ίν.) ε αἱ σύτου κ(αγκ.) ζε $\angle$ δ' χο(ίν.) ε νο(μ.) δ  
 τῷ αὐτῷ κόμε(τι) Ιούστω Εὐδαίμωνος ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς δοθ(είσης) αὐτοῦ μηχ(ανῆς)  
 Τώφατε

## 2195. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE 161

ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) "Αμωκος Νούδε ἐν κώμ(ῇ) Σιναρὺ σί(του) (ἀρτ.) νβ αἱ σύτου  
 κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) νζ[δ χο(ίν.)] β νο(μ.) γ $\angle$ δ'

ὑπὲρ μεταφορ(ᾶς) σύτου τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Νεκώνθεως βληθ(έντος) εἰς τὸν αὐτ(ὸν)  
 διὰ νο(μ.) αγ' π(α.) εδ'

105 τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) μηχ(ανῆς) "Ασασι ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) σύτου (ἀρτ.) σμ $\angle$   
 χο(ίν.) ε καὶ νο(μ.) ιη[γ' μηχ' ζσ'] π(α.) κεδ'

92 l. μαθῷ 98 l. Εὐδαίμονος, and in 102 102 l. αὐτῷ

Col. vii.

Ιακὼβ Λάμπαν ἀπὸ Κόσμου σύτου (ἀρτ.) δ αἱ σύτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) δ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) δ  
 συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τάγχεω καὶ Σύφεως καὶ Διδομεράτος καὶ Μεσοποταμ(ίας)  
 ἀπὸ γραμμ(άτων) τοῦ μεγάλ(ον) κύρου Στρατηγίου ἀπὸ ια ὑδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) σ  
 ὅμοι(ως)

συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ προκειμ(ένοις) ἐξ ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) τοῦ κόμ(ιτος)  
 Σερήνου νο(μ.) β $\angle$

(γίν.) νο(μ.) η $\angle$ δ'

καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβόλ(ῷ) ἐν κώμ(ῇ) Σιναρὺ οῦ(τως)·

π(α.) Ιωσὴφ Φαντοῦ (ἀρτ.) ιγ νο(μ.) β $\angle$ γ' ιβ' (καὶ) Βάνου (καὶ) Ακαρῶν (ἀρτ.)  
 ισ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) σ νο(μ.) ασ' κδ'

π(α.) Ιακὼβ Λάμπαν (ἀρτ.) σ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) σ νο(μ.)  $\angle$ η' π(α.) Ιωσὴφ Ερμίνο(ν) ἐν  
 Φάνι δικαίο(ν) τῆς

μεγάλ(ῆς) Φαντοῦ (ἀρτ.) ισ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) ε νο(μ.) ad' π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Πεσχοῦ  
 καὶ Ερμίνο(ν) (καὶ) Σολομῶν

115 ἀπὸ Το[ν]χίο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κς νο(μ.) α π(α.) τοῦ ἀν(τοῦ) Ιακὼβ Λάμπαν  
 (ἀρτ.) ιθ $\angle$  χο(ίν.) β νο(μ.) α $\angle$ κδ'

π(α.) Ατρῆτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίλλωνος κατεχόμ(ενα) π(α.) τῶν ἀπὸ Σιναρὺ (ἀρτ.) β $\angle$   
 χο(ίν.) η νο(μ.) s' μηχ' ζσ'

(γίν.) (ἀρτ.) οε $\angle$  χο(ίν.) η αἱ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) πςδ χο(ίν.) η καὶ ἄλλ(αι) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.)  
 κς (γίν.) σύτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ριβδ χο(ίν.) η νο(μ.) η $\angle$ η' ζσ'

τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Τονχίου ὑπὲρ ὀνόμ(ατος) Φιλοξένο(ν) ἀπὸ Σκυταλίτιδος καὶ τῶν

120 ἀπὸ Τ[ι]λλωνος ὑ(πὲρ) ὀν ἔχει Φὶβ ἀπὸ "Ἐρωτος κατεχομέ(νων) πα(ρὰ) τῶν  
 διαφερ( )

τοῦ τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμης Σαμουηλίο(ν) σί(του) (ἀρτ.) ιγ $\angle$ δ' αἱ σύτου κ(αγκ.)  
 (ἀρτ.) ιε $\angle$  χο(ίν.) σ νο(μ.) ακδ'

M

καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Μεναστ( ) ἐνεχθ(έντα) καὶ συνεχωρηθ(έντα) ἐκ κ(ε)λ(εύσεως) τ(οῦ) μεγάλου κύρου Στρατηγίο(ν) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ρκζ̄<sup>∠</sup>δ χο(ίν.) δ νο(μ.) ιδ κδ̄ οῦ(τως).  
 'Ιωάννη Φαναποῦ ἀπὸ Σιναρù ὑπὲρ παραμυθ(ίας) μηχ(ανῆς) Φαναποῦ νο(μ.) ∠δ' τοῦ ἀπὸ Τ'Ιλλωνος ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτ(ον) χωρ(ίου) μηχ(ανῆς) Κολλούθου νο(μ.) α  
 125 τοῖς κληρ(ονόμοις) 'Ιωάννου Παπεστήμ(ονος) (ἀρτ.) ι νο(μ.) ασ'κδ'μη'ζε'  
 τοῦ ἀπὸ Κόσμου σίτου (ἀρτ.) παδ χο(ίν.) β αἱ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ζγ̄<sup>∠</sup> νο(μ.) ζδ'κδ'μη'ζε'  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ Δοσιθέου (ἀρτ.) ιδ αἱ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ισδ' χο(ίν.) δ αἱ προκ(εύμεναι)  
 τῷ ἔργοδιώκτ(η) ὑ(πὲρ) μισθο(ῦ) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος νο(μ.) β π(α.) ζ  
 γύ(ν.) σί(του) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) σξ̄<sup>∠</sup> χο(ίν.) β καὶ νο(μ.) λβ/κδ'ζε' π(α.) ζ  
 108 γραμ̄<sup>μ</sup> 111 (καὶ) : S P. 112 I. δικαίω 122 I. συγχωρηθ(έντα)

## Col. viii.

130 Ἀναστασίῳ καὶ 'Ιωάννῃ ὁσπριγ(ίταις) ὑ(πὲρ) ἐμβολ(ῆς) ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) ι ὑδ(ικ.) σί(του) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) 'Γφπεδ' χο(ίν.) θ καὶ λόγω<sup>ν</sup> ναύλ(ον) Ἀλεξανδρείας νο(μ.) κς̄<sup>∠</sup>γ'κδ'μη' τὰ ἴδ(ιωτικῶ) νο(μ.) κθη'ζε'  
 ὑπὲρ τμ(ῆς) χορτοσπέρμου ἀγορασθ(έντος) ἐν "Αρεως τῇ κώμῃ δι(ά) Ἀντιόχο(ν)  
 χορτοπαραλήμπτ(ον) εἰς χρε(ίαν)  
 τῆς νοτω(ῆς) αὐτονυγίας Παθαμπεμοῦ καὶ νοτ(ωνῦ) παρορίου ἐπὶ τῇ(s) ι  
 ὑδ(ικ.) κατασπορ(ᾶς) ια νο(μ.) ε π(α.) κ  
 'Απασίωνι ποταμέτ(η) καὶ τοῖς ἐτ[αί]ρο(οις) αὐτο(ῦ) ἀνακαλύψασιν τὸν λάκκ(ον)  
 τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) το(ῦ) κτήμ(ατος) Εὐαγγελίο(ν)  
 135 ὑπὸ ἅπα Ὠρον πρε(σβύτερον) καὶ Φοιβάμμωνα γεωρ(γὸν) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) ἐπὶ τῇ(s) ι ὑδ(ικ.) λόγω μισθο(ῦ) ὑπὲρ . . . . ( ) ρνβ νο(μ.) δ<sup>∠</sup> π(α.) κβ̄<sup>∠</sup> (καὶ) λόγω ἀναλώμ(ατος)  
 (ἀρτ.) δ καὶ μν(ριάδες) ,Ασ καὶ τῷ οὐκοδόμ(ῷ)  
 καὶ τέκτονι καὶ ἐπικειμ(ένῳ) ὑπὲρ ἀναλώμ(ατος) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) λάκκ(ον) τῆς αὐ(τῆς) μηχ(ανῆς) Τμοῦρε (ἀρτ.) δ καὶ μν(ριάδες) ,Ασ τοῦ σίτου φερομένο(ν) εἰς τὴν ια ὑδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) δ<sup>∠</sup> π(α.) κβ̄<sup>∠</sup> (καὶ) μν(ριάδες) 'Bu  
 Φοιβάμμωνι σίῶ Φιβ ἀπὸ ἐποικίο(ν) Εὐαγγελίο(ν) γεωρ(γῷ) τῆς μηχα(νῆς)  
 140 καλονυμέ(νης) μεγαλ(ῆς) Τμοῦρε λόγω προχρείας τῶν ζψων αὐτοῦ φθαρέντων Φαρμο(ῦ)θι ιε ὑδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) γ π(α.) ιε

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## 163

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ηλων καὶ λεπιδίων καὶ ὑγροπίσσ(ης) καὶ κυπαρίσσ(ον) ἀγορα-  
 σθ(έντων) εἰς διόρθωσιν τοῦ γεονυχικ(οῦ)  
 πορθμίου το(ῦ) κτήμ(ατος) "Ερωτος ἐπὶ τῆς ι ὑδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) β/ π(α.) γ<sup>∠</sup>  
 γύ(ν.) ἀναλώμα(τα) τῆς αντῆς ι ὑδ(ικ.) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) 'Δπς̄<sup>∠</sup> χο(ίν.) ι  
 καὶ νο(μ.) ζα<sup>∠</sup>γ'κδ' π(α.) ζδ̄<sup>∠</sup> εἰς νο(μ.) γ<sup>∠</sup>γ'β'ζε' καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.)  
 πζ̄<sup>∠</sup>γ'β'μη'ζε' καὶ μν(ριάδες) 'Bu εἰς  
 νο(μ.) γ'η'μη' γύ(ν.) νο(μ.) πηγ κδ'μη'ζε' ἀνθ' (ῶν) λήμμα(τα) τῆ(s) αὐ(τῆς)  
 ὑδ(ικ.) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) 'Γφνα<sup>∠</sup> χο(ίν.) ι καὶ νο(μ.) τιδγ'β' καὶ  
 ὑ(πὲρ) Κεφαλā (ἀρτ.) ψιλ<sup>∠</sup>δ'  
 145 γύ(ν.) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) 'Δσπς̄δ χο(ίν.) ι ὡς λοιπ(αὶ) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.)  
 (ἀρτ.) σ αὶ καὶ συνχωρηθ(εῖσαι) τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) Εὐαγγελίο(ν) καὶ ἄλλοις  
 κα(τά) κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπό(του)  
 ήμῶν τοῦ θεοφυλάκτ(ον) κύρο(ν) ἀπὸ θ ὑδ(ικ.) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ια ὑδ(ικ.) πλήρ(ης)  
 δ σῖτος λοιπ(ὰ) δὲ ἀργυρικ(ὰ) σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) σκεζε'  
 + κατεβλήθ(η) ἐπὶ τὸν εύδοκ(μιώτατον) 'Ιωάννην χαρτουλάριον καὶ τραπε-  
 ζ(ίτην) ἐν διαφόρ(ῷ) καταβολ(ῆς) οῦ(τως).  
 μη(νὸς) Μεχεὶρ λ ὑδ(ικ.) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) μη π(α.) τ Φαρμοῦθι β ὑδ(ικ.) ι  
 σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) γ π(α.) πδ Φαρμοῦθι ι ὑδ(ικ.) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) ξδ  
 π(α.) πι  
 Φαρμοῦθι δ σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) δ π(α.) κε Παχῶν κθ σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) κε π(α.)  
 ργγ 'Ἐπειφ σ σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) η π(α.) μη  
 150 γύ(ν.) σίτο(ν) 'Γφπεδ' χο(ίν.) θ (καὶ) νο(μ.) μβδ'κδ'ζε' π(α.) ξα  
 (καὶ) μν(ριάδες) 'Bu  
 142 I. πορθμείου

## Col. ix.

Θῶθ κε ὑδ(ικ.) ια ὑ(πὲρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) δ π(α.) κδ<sup>∠</sup>  
 γύ(ν.) τὰ καταβληθέ(ντα) ἐπὶ τὸν τραπεζ(ίτην) ἀκολούθ(ως) ἐνταγί(οις) οῦσι(ν)  
 π(αρὰ) τῷ προνοητ(ῆ)  
 σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) ρξ̄<sup>∠</sup> π(α.) γηπδ<sup>∠</sup> εἰς νο(μ.) μαμη' καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) ρκδ<sup>∠</sup>γ'η'μη'  
 ὡς λοιπ(ὰ) νο(μ.) ραμη'ζε' ἔξ (ῶν) ἐδόθ(η) τῷ τραπεζ(ίτη) Φαῶφι κγ τ(ῆς)  
 αὐτ(ῆς) ὑ(πὲρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) κ π(α.) ρκα  
 εἰς νο(μ.) εκδ' καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) ιδ<sup>∠</sup>γ'η' λε(ίπεται) σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) πςκδ'  
 μη'ζε' ἔξ ὀν ἐδόθ(η) τῷ τραπεζ(ίτη)  
 Χοίακ ιζ ια ὑδ(ικ.) ὑπ(ἐρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) οβ π(α.) τζα Χοίακ κα ὑδ(ικ.) ια  
 ὑπ(ἐρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) γ π(α.) ιζ<sup>∠</sup>  
 Αθύρ κζ ια ὑδ(ικ.) ὑπ(ἐρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) θ π(α.) μεδ' Τῦβι θ ὑδ(ικ.)  
 ια ὑ(πὲρ) ι σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) ι π(α.) μγ καὶ

παρεχωρ(η)θ(η) ἐπὶ τῆς ι ὥδ(ικ.) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) ισ εἰς ἀριθ(μα) νο(μ.)  
κα π(α.) ρςγ<sup>λ</sup> γύ(ν.) καὶ τοῦτ(ο) σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) ριε π(α.) χρδ  
εἰς νο(μ.) κηγ<sup>λ</sup>β'γ<sup>λ</sup>ς' καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) πικδ'μηγ<sup>λ</sup>ς' πλήρ(ης) ὁ λόγος  
(at bottom of column)  
γί(ν.) ἀριθ(μα) νο(μ.) τα π(α.) Ἀψυθ<sup>λ</sup>ς'

Col. x.

160 +ἄλλ(ος) λόγ(ος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) Φιλοξένου προ(νοητοῦ) Νεκάν-  
θεως  
δικαίο(ν) Κεφαλ(ὰ) ι ὥδ(ικ.)  
π(α.) Πέτρ[ο]ν καὶ ἄπα "Ωρου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) Πρανοῦτος καὶ Πέτρο(ν)  
Ἄβρααμίο(ν) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Ἐρύθεως σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ζβ  
νο(μ.) s  
π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ καὶ Παμουθίο(ν) καὶ Πιηρῦτος Ἐρμίνο(ν) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς)  
Ἐρμίνου σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ζη νο(μ.) ε  
π(α.) Φιβ Σανσνέου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶτος Τουᾶν ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς)  
ἐσωτέρα(s) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ρβ νο(μ.) s  
165 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ Θέκλας ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννο(ν) σίτου κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) ξδ νο(μ.) δ  
π(α.) Παμουθίο(ν) Ἀπολλῶτος δ(ιὰ) Κόλλου φρο(ντιστοῦ) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς)  
Ἄρβαείον σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) νηλ νο(μ.) γ  
π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ φρο(ντιστοῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς)  
Τίλλωνος σίτου κ(αγκ.) νβλ νο(μ.) β  
π(α.) Κολλούθου πρε(σβυτέρου) δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ φρο(ντιστοῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
κτήμ(ατος) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Η(ε)δ(ιάδ)ος σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) καὶ  
λς νο(μ.) αλ  
π(α.) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ Ἐρώδου δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσῆφ Φιλίππου Κολλο(ν)θο(ν) ὑ(πὲρ)  
μηχ(ανῆς) Θανκανμα σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μη νο(μ.) β  
170 π(α.) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος πρε(σβυτέρου) δ(ιὰ) Παμουθίο(ν) Φοιβάμμωνος  
Φιλιππη ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Τεποτ σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μζλδ'  
νο(μ.) βλ  
π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) ὑ(πὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς)  
Τανπουλλία κα(τὰ) τὸ (ῆμισν) μέρ(ος) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κβλ  
π(α.) Ἀνοῦπ Πανεὲ ὑ(πὲρ) Φὸτ σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιβ νο(μ.) αβ/  
π(α.) sλd'

π(α.) Παύλου ἐλαιουργ(οῦ) ὑ(πὲρ) φόρ(ον) ἐλαιουργ(ίου) νο(μ.) α  
π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) ὑ(πὲρ) φόρ(ον)  
μεγάλ(ον) γηδίο(ν) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κς νο(μ.) αβ/  
175 π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ συντελεύ(ας) κεφαλ(ῆς) νο(μ.) β  
π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προκ(ειμένων) γεωρ(γῶν) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ογ  
π(α.) Ἐρμίνο(ν) καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος Παγγηλ σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) κς  
π(α.) Παμουθίο(ν) Σαλᾶ ἀπὸ Τοὲ σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ισ νο(μ.) β  
π(α.) Πιηρῦτος Ἐρμία ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Τοεὲ σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) η  
π(α.) Φιβ Ἐρμία ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) η  
π(α.) Ἀβωνᾶ πρε(σβυτέρου) ἀπὸ Ἐρώδου σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) θ  
π(α.) Πρανοῦτος ἀπὸ Σόφου νο(μ.) γγ'  
π(α.) Πιηρῦτου ἀναγνώστ(ον) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) γ

Col. xi.

180 γί(ν.) λήμμ(ατα) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) ι ὥδ(ικ.) τῶν ἐκ Νεκάνθεως δικαίο(ν) Κεφαλᾶ  
σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ωγδ' καὶ σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) μγβ/ π(α.) sλd' εἰς νο(μ.)  
d'μηγ<sup>λ</sup>ς' καθ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) μγγ'κδ'γ<sup>λ</sup>s'  
+ἔξ ὧν ἀνηλώθ(η) ἐπὶ τῆ(ς) αὐτῆ(ς) ὥδ(ικ.) οῦτ(ως).  
εἰς τὴν ἀγί(αν) ἐκκλ(ησίαν) τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Νεκάνθεως σίτου κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) γ νο(μ.) α π(α.) δ  
τοῖς ἀπὸ Τάγχεω ὑ(πὲρ) δημ(οσίων) Πεκοτ καὶ Παγγηλ σίτου κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) κβλ νο(μ.) αληγ<sup>λ</sup>ς'  
185 συνεχωρήθ(η) Παπνουθίω Σαρᾶ ἀπὸ Τοὲ ἀνηκούστι τῆ(ς) ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλ(ησίας)  
σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ισ νο(μ.) β π(α.) ε  
π(α.) πλινθ(ευταῖς) πλινθ(ύουσιν) ἐν κτήμ(ατι) Νεκάνθεως ὑ(πὲρ) μισθο(ν)  
ὀπτ(ῆς) πλινθ(ον)  
(μυριάδων) δ σὺν μισθο(ν) οἰκοδόμ(ων) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) γ νο(μ.)  
α π(α.) δ  
τῷ προ(νοητῆ) λόγω δψωνίου σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κδ νο(μ.) β π(α.) ε  
γί(ν.) ἀναλ(ώματα) ι ὥδ(ικ.) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ξηλ νο(μ.) ζληγ<sup>λ</sup>ς' π(α.) η  
εἰς νο(μ.) ζλd' καθ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) sλγ'κδ'γ<sup>λ</sup>s'  
ἀνθ' (ῶν) λήμμ(ατα) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) ι ὥδ(ικ.) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ωγδ' καὶ  
νο(μ.) μγγ'κδ'γ<sup>λ</sup>s' ὡς

λοιπ(αὶ) σίτο(ν) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ψλδ $\angle$ δ' αὶ καὶ ἐνεχθε(ῖσαι) εἰς τὸν λόγ(ον)  
*Εὐαγγελίο(ν)* ι ὥδ(ικ.) πλήρ(ης)  
 λοιπ(ά) δὲ ἀργυρικ(ά) σὺν ρ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) λσ $\angle$  εἰς ἀριθ(μα) νο(μ.) ν π(α.) τκδ  
 (at bottom of column)  
 γι(ν.) ἀριθ(μα) νο(μ.) ν π(α.) τκδ  
 190 l. ἀναγνώστη 192 l. μισθῷ

14 For the *cancellus* artaba see the editors' note to 1855 5-6.

17 Probably not ἐποικ(τον) Τίλλωνος, as we should not expect it to be specified in this column; in l. 19 it is preceded by the name of another village.

24 Perhaps α]πα Κλέωνος.

38 This village is probably to be identified with Τρύφωνος Ἰσιάνου ('Ισιάνου) ἐποικίον, which occurs in Oxyrhynchite documents of the Roman period, e.g. 1124 10.

48 For the symbol used to express δηνάριων μυριάδες, see 1911 69 n.

49 For the δίκαιον Διογένους, see 1910 25 and Hardy, op. cit., p. 101. His estate was already known to have included land in the villages of Plein and Plakiton (1910 25, 26), Tarousebt (1911 53, 115) and Nesos Leukadiou (2024 6).

73 πορθμαρ(τον): this word, which does not appear in Preisigke WB. or in the new Liddell and Scott, also occurs in P. Merton 42. 4.

75 As in 1910 13-14 there is a slight inaccuracy in the figures here. The conversion, on a 15 per cent. basis, of 2,819½ artabas μέτρων and 1 choenix gives us 3,242 *cancellus* artabas and 19 choenices, i.e. the figure in l. 75 includes nine surplus choenices. The easiest remedy would be to read ε for α in l. 74. For the relation between the two standards see 1855 5-6 n.

There is further an error in the total addition of *cancellus* artabas in this line. We should expect there χο(ν.) δ, not χο(ν.) σ; a correction which is demanded by the final figure in l. 81.

80 Here again the conversion is inexact, 18,269 choenices on the artaba μέτρων standard being equated to 18,288 on the *cancellus* artaba standard; with the omission of ∠ from the figure νν $\angle$ δ' χο(ν.) η in the sum would be only one choenix out. That the artaba μέτρων was of a varying capacity is clear (cf. 1910 14 n.), but probably it is the accountant who is to blame here as in ll. 74-5.

82 Instead of κδ' in this line we require ιβ'.

84 The sums of money paid to the four churches amount not to 2½ nomismata minus 3½ keratia, but to 2½ nomismata minus 3 keratia; if the figure given in this line is correct, we should probably assume that νο(μ.) γ' π(α.) ∠ should be added to the payments made either to the church of Aroura or to St. Michael's. The latter was probably the church of that name at Oxyrhynchus (cf. 1357 8) as no village name is attached to it.

89 We should expect the district to which this pronoetes was assigned to be specified.

92 On the symbol for μυριάδες (or more probably μυριάδες), see 1905 21 n.

96 ἀνεπιδρ[ : we seem to require here a word expressing the unsuitability of the land for cultivation; cf., e.g., 1911 139. Here again there is a small slip in the conversion: the figure should be 13½ *cancellus* artabas and 1 choenix.

97 δημ(οοιων) ἀριθμ(ων): this confirms the reading of 2019 20. That the term had any significance at this date is improbable.

98-100 The addition in these lines, 83½ art. 5 choen.+29½ art. 5 choen. = 113 art., implies that the artaba μέτρων had 40 instead of 46 choenices. That this is an error is clear from other entries in this account and from the conversion in l. 101.

101 The conversion here is ¼ choenix out; unless ¼ of an artaba μέτρων was conventionally reckoned at 12 choenices instead of 11½ to avoid the fraction.

103 Νούδε: presumably the same as the Νώις of 1462 32; a genitive Νώεως occurs in P. Stud. Pal. x. 209.

52 artabas μέτρων = 2,392 choenices: 57½ *cancellus* artabas 2 choenices = 2,292 choenices. It is more probable that κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) νθ $\angle$ δ' χο(ν.) β was intended (which would give exact equivalence) than that in this case the artaba μέτρων contained only 44 choenices.

## 2195. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

167

105 The items total 240½ artabas 5 choenices, not 240½ artabas 5 choenices; this could be rectified by supplying ∠ instead of δ' in l. 103, where there is in any case an error in the figures (see note ad loc.).

At the end of this line are given the totals for this column; the amount paid for the last item has been placed in l. 104.

108 For this Strategius, see introd.

109 δ' has been omitted either after νο(μ.) β∠ or after νο(μ.) σ in the preceding line.

111 ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ: this may perhaps refer to disputed payments, some of which were later remitted; cf. the entries ὑπὲρ παραμυθίας.

117 The separate sums entered in ll. 112-16 amount to 75 artabas 4 choenices, not to 75½ artabas 8 choenices, i.e. there is an error of 27 choenices. As this is also the number of choenices entered in these lines, it would appear that the scribe counted them in twice. The conversion in this line assumes that the total of artabas μέτρων was 75 and 8 choenices, not 75½ and 8 choenices.

118 The total of nomismata in this line is short by 5/8 (ιβ' μηγ').

121 Unless we assume that the arithmetic of this conversion is again incorrect, the artaba μέτρων is reckoned at 45-6 choenices. In l. 126, as elsewhere (see above, l. 101 note), a quarter of an artaba μέτρων is reckoned at 12, not 11½ choenices.

122 Μεναστ( ): no place of this name is known; μοναστ(ηρίον) may have been intended, but we should expect a monastery to be named.

123-4 It is probable that in one of these two lines an entry of corn should have been made, but was omitted, as the total for distribution given in l. 122 is too high by 6½ artabas.

127 Perhaps the δ' in this line should be omitted; without it the conversion is exact.

129 The totals here are those for this column only; that of the corn is correct, that of the money requires the addition of μηγ'.

131 The ratio is approximately the same as that in 154 (see note to l. 13).

137 ἐπικεψι(ένω): presumably 'overseer'.

141 λεπίδιον is cited in Liddell and Scott (new ed.) from Hero, *Spiritalia*, i. 3 as 'a small plate, capsule', used to close a tube; here it is probably used of some kind of protective plating on the ship, cf. the use of λεπίς in B.G.U. 544. 8.

143 The total of solidi in this line (which consists of the column totals of ll. 105, 129, and 150) exceeds the totals of the individual items by 4/7.

144 The equivalence of 2,400 myriads to 2/3 of a solidus is a value close to that in 1911 208. If the basis of reckoning had been exactly the same as in 1911, we should find 4/5 here instead of 2/3.

In l. 82 the total of the receipts in money is given as 212 1/8 solidi; the difference between that and the figure given here, 214 5/8, cannot be accounted for, converting the 5,700 myriads of l. 82 into solidi at the rate given in this line.

For the estate of Cephalas which, though part of the Apion estate, had its accounts kept separately, see 1916 introd. That the estate of Cephalas was in no sense independent, is clear from l. 101: Cephalas himself may have been long dead, and the name kept after the incorporation of his lands; cf. the estate of Diogenes and Hardy's note (op. cit., p. 101). If so, Κεφαλᾶ in this context and in 1916 would be an ellipse for Κεφαλᾶ δικαλον.

145 The balance of corn should be 199½ artabas, not 200: the difference may be merely due to the scribe's preference for a round figure.

150 The totals here are for ll. 130-42.

158 ἀριθμα: cf. 1915 22 n.

## 2196. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

32·3 × 37 cm.

?A.D. 586.

Probably only a draft for a text such as 2195; it is, however, of some interest, as unlike the latter it contains the prescript. The account was addressed to Fl. Praejecta, Fl. Apion, and Fl. Georgius, consulars (the title here is simply honorary), and land-owners. It is clear that the last named, who now appears for the first time, was a

member of the Apion family: as we know (see 1989 and 1990) that Praejecta, widow of Strategius II, and her son Fl. Apion III, were administering the estate in 591, we may assume that this text antedates 1989 and 1990, as in it another son of Strategius II was still living. There is no evidence as to the date of the death of Strategius II: but if, as seems most likely, the fifth induction of l. 6 refers to the year 586, we could then assume that Strategius II had died before this date, and that between 586 and 591 one of the heirs, Fl. Georgius, also died, leaving the estate in the hands of Fl. Praejecta and Fl. Apion III. On the verso of the text are fragmentary notes of receipts from various unnamed villages: ll. 5–6 run ]· ὑ(πὲρ) τοῦ λήμμα(ατος) τῶν κωμῶν (ἀρτ.) μο(ιριάδες) εγ[<sup>6</sup>] γύ(ν.) λήμμα(ατα) σι(του) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μο(ιριάδες) ισ(βητη). In l. 31 are given the amounts paid for the προσφοραι Ἀλεξανδρείας; they are so large that the suggestion of the editors of 1906 that these προσφοραι were the taxes assigned by the State to the Church of Alexandria εἰς διατροφὴν τῶν πτωχῶν seems doubtful. The amounts are: γύ(ν.) [λήμμα(ατα) προ(σφορῶν) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) μο(ιριάδας) αηφιβ .() δ( ) κ( ) ργα<sub>2</sub>δ'

There is no indication that this text contained more than one column.

+Φλ(ανίοις) Πραιμέκτη τῇ ὑπερφυεστ(ά)τ(η) Ὑπατίας καὶ Ἀπίων καὶ  
Γεωργίω τοῖς ὑπερφυεστ(ά)τ(οις) ὑπάτους τοῖς γεονυχοῦσ(ω) καὶ  
ἐν ταύτῃ λαμπρ(οτάτῃ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλει λόγ(ος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ  
ἀναλ(ωμάτων) γενομ(ένων) δι' ἐμοῦ Σερήνου διο[ι]κ(ητοῦ) καὶ προ(νοητοῦ)  
\* Ματρεῦ καὶ  
5 ἐν κώμ(η) Ἐπισήμου καὶ ἐν κώμ(η) Ἀδαιίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἔξωτικ(ῶν)  
τόπων ἐπὶ τῆς εἰνδ(ικ.) οὐ(τως).  
+ἔστω τὸ λημμ(α) τῆς αὐ(τῆς) εἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) , ασα χο(ίν.) εὶς καὶ σὺν  
ρο(πῆ) νο(μ.) σιλθ<sub>2</sub>μη' ζε'  
καὶ ἔκτ(ος) β[ο]π(ῆς) νο(μ.) ισ'  
+ἔξ ὀν ἀνηλώθη ἐπὶ τῆς α[ὐ(τῆς) εἰνδ(ικ.)] οὐ(τως).  
10 εἰς τὰς ἀγ(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) τοῦ κτήμα(ατος) κατὰ τὸ ἔθ(ος) [σι]τ[ο]ψ κ(αγκ.)  
(ἀρτ.) γ νο(μ.) π(α.)  
+τῶν ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Ἐπείφ ιβ ἔως κθ ἡμ[ε]ρ(ῶν) η ἡμερουσ(ίως) ἄρ(των) λί(τραι)  
ρν οὖ(ον) δι(πλᾶ) ιζ κρ(έως) ν εἰς φόλ(λεις) ρν  
έλαι(ον) ξ(έσται) ιδ γύ(νονται) τῶν η ἡμερ(ῶν) ἄρ(των) λί(τραι) , ασ οὖ(ον)  
κνίδ(α) ρλς κρ(έως) ν εἰς φόλ(λεις) , ασ  
έλαι(ον) ξ(έσται) ν

<sup>1</sup> 'Ὑπατεία as a woman's name occurs in P. Lond. ii, p. 483, l. 10.

<sup>11</sup> φόλ(λεις): this is the easiest expansion of this abbreviation, but it is curious that the sum should be given in *folles*, not in *solidi*.

<sup>12</sup> Here, as in 1951, the κνίδιον is equated with the διπλοῦν, cf. 1836 22 n.

### 2197. ACCOUNT OF BRICKS.

191·5 × 32 cm.

Sixth century.

This large and complete account is concerned exclusively with the bricks collected from certain villages (probably on the Apion estate: see n. to l. 1) and then distributed for the purposes detailed here. No other document gives such a detailed picture of the amount of building regularly undertaken by the estate. Most of the material was used on the building of cisterns (*λάκκοι* and *δικνόλακκοι*: for the latter, see n. to l. 66) and wells (*κρήναι*); but it is interesting to note, in view of Hardy's statement (*Great Estates*, p. 123) that 'with a single exception [P. Bad. 95, 223] there is no indication that the estate assumed any responsibility for the houses of its tenants', that frequent entries record the issue of bricks for houses, repairs to houses, and farm buildings. Bricks are frequently reckoned in *βανκάλα* (see n. to l. 3), which seems to be a capacity measure containing 3,000 bricks.

Recto. Col. i.

[Γνῶσις] ὀπ[το]πλάνθου μερίδο(s) Παπ[νούθιο(v)] ἐπικεψ(ένον).  
[γύ(ν.) ἀναλ(ώματα) ὑ(πὲρ) ι[ε] (καὶ) α τῶ(ν) β ὑδ(ικ.) οὔτως.  
[ἀπο το(v)] κτήμα(ατος) Θαήσιος ὀπ[τοπλάνθου] βαν]κ(ά)λια ις εἰς (μυριάδας) [δ],η  
[ἀνη]λώθη εἰς χρείαν τῆ(s) προ[σό]ψ(εως) τοῦ λάκκο(v)  
5 [.....] τῆς μηχανῆς Μαρίν[o(v)] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
[εἰς χρείαν] τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) Καιψ[ῆς] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
[εἰς χρείαν] τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) Παλπλουστῆ(s) [καὶ προ]σύψ(εως)  
αψ(τῆς) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ω  
[εἰς χρείαν] τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) Τερμαθε[ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
[εἰς χρείαν] τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχανῆς Τιαεψ[ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,θ  
10 [εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(v) Αμαλε[ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,ω  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆ(s) ἀγί(ας) Μαρίας κ[αὶ .....]τηρο(v) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,γ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) [ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,θ  
[εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(v) τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) [ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
[εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(v) [ ] ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,θ  
15 [εἰς] χρείαν τῆς μηχα(νῆς). [  
[εἰς χρείαν τῆ(s) μηχα(νῆς) Αβε[  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ ἔλαιουργ(ίου) [  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ ὄριον το(ῦ) [  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(v) Ερ[  
20 [εἰς] χρείαν τῆ(s) κρήνης [  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κρήνης

εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς μηχα(νῆς) [  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς μῆχα(νῆς)]

2 ιωδό

5 οπτ<sup>λ</sup>: so *passim.*

## Recto. Col. ii.

- 25 εἰς χρείαν τοῦ ὁίκου Ὀμριγένους Σιγκοῦ ὀπτ(όπλ.) τ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς διορθώσ(εως) τοῦ λα[κκ]οῦ) Πατερμουθίο(υ)  
γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ Λύκωνος ὀπτ[τ(όπλ.)] α  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Μακαρίο(υ) γ[εω]ργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(ου) Μαρίνο(υ) γ[εωρ]γ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
30 εἰς χρείαν τοῦ νέου λάκκο(ου) ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(ου) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) .[...] πλου ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Τερα ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
[γί(ν.) ὀπτ(όπλ.)] (μυριάδες) δ (καὶ), ζ[λ] λοιπ(ὰ) ρ  
c καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κ[τήμ]ατος) Κα]λύβης (καὶ) Ματ[ρ]εῦ (καὶ) Ψαὲν ὑ(πὲρ) ιε καὶ [α τῶν  
β ἴνδ(ικ.)]  
35 λήμμα(τα) τ[ούτων] — [δ]πτ(όπλ.) βαυκ(άλια) κ[η εἰ]ς (μυριάδας) η (καὶ) ,δ  
ἔξ (ῶν) ἀνηλ[άθη εἰς τὸ]ν νέον λάκκο(ου) μηχα(νῆς) Μικρῆς  
[.....]. γεωργ(οῦ) K[αλ]ύβης ὀπτ[τ(όπλ.)] φ  
εἰς χρείαν ..... ἄπ]α [δ]πτ(όπλ.) [  
εἰς χρείαν .....]. φ[... γεωρ]γ(οῦ) μ(η)χ(ανῆς) Ψαὲν ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
40 εἰς χρείαν .....]. ημίο(υ) δού(λον) Ματρεῦ ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
εἰς χρείαν .....] ε[.....] ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
[γί(ν.) ὀπτ(όπλ.)] (μυριάδες) ε (καὶ), α[λ] λοιπ(αὶ)] (μυριάδες) γ καὶ ,βρ  
c καὶ ἀπὸ [  
λήμμα(ατα) [τούτων ὀπτ(όπλ.) βαυκ(άλια) κδ εἰς (μυριάδας) ζ (καὶ) ,β]

45 έξ (ῶν) ἀνηλ[άθη]

εἰς χρείαν

εἰς χρείαν

εἰς χρείαν

εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Φιβ γεωργ(οῦ)

## Recto. Col. iii.

- 50 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Πέτρ(ον) γεωργοῦ ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Φιλοξ[έν]ο(ν) γεωργοῦ ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Δαν[η]λίο(ν) γεωργοῦ ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(ου) Ἀσο!(ον) [γ]εωργ(οῦ) εἰς τὴν πρ[όσο]ψ(ω) χ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(υ) Μακαρ[ίο]ν) γεωργ(οῦ) εἰς τὴν πρόσο]ψ(ω) ]  
αὐτ(οῦ) φ  
55 εἰς χρείαν τῆς αὐλῆς Φοι[β]άμμωνος φρο(ντιστοῦ) 'Ηρ[ακ]λᾶ ,θ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς αὐλῆς 'Εν[ώχ] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ,γ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Φι[β] γεωργοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ,γ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Ἀλά[μμ]ωνος (καὶ) Φοιβάμμωνος ,γ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Ἄρκισονος (καὶ) Τρήνης ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
60 εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκο(υ) Παιώνου [γε]ωργοῦ εἰς τὴν πρόσο]ψ(ω) φ  
γί(ν.) ὀπτ(όπλ.) (μυριάδες) 5 [(καὶ) ,δρ λοιπ(ὰ), ζ[λ]]  
c καὶ ἀπὸ [....]δ[..] (καὶ) Πατεὼ (καὶ) Ἀρκισοῦ (καὶ) Τρῆν[ε ὑ(πὲρ) ιε [(καὶ) α  
τῶν] β ἴνδ(ικ.)  
λήμμα(τα) [τού]των] ὀπτ(όπλ.) βαυκ(άλια) κη εἰς (μυριάδας) η (καὶ) ,δ  
ἔξ (ῶν) ἀνηλ[άθη εἰς τὸ]ν πόστασιν [.] λιτίο(ν) ὀπ[τ(όπλ.)]  
65 εἰς χρείαν [τοῦ ν]έου λάκκο(ου) Φοιβ[ά]μ[μωνος] γεωργοῦ ὀ[πτ(όπλ.)]  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ νέου λάκκο(ου) ..... ὀ[πτ(όπλ.)] Τρῆνης ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ νέου λάκκο(ου) ..... δο( ) ὀπ[τ(όπλ.)] ,θ  
εἰς χρείαν [.....] Φιλοξ[έν]ο(ν) κόμε(τος) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
εἰς] χρείαν [.....] ιο( ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
70 [εἰς] χρείαν [.....] ιο( ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [  
68 1. κόμιτος

## Recto. Col. iv.

- c καὶ ἀπὸ [ἐποικ(ίον) Παρθενιάδ(ος) (καὶ) Ἰερέων ὑ(πὲρ) ιε (καὶ) α] τῶν β ἴνδ(ικ.)  
λήμμα(τα) τούτων ὀ[πτ(όπλ.) βαυκάλια κβ εἰς (μυριάδας) 5 (καὶ) ,s  
ἔξ (ῶν) ἀνηλ[άθη] εἰς τὸ νέον περίπατον τοῦ πωμαρίο(ν) τοῦ νέου αὐτ(οῦ) κτήμα(ατος)  
ὀπτ(όπλ.) (μυριάδας) α,θφ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ οἴκ(ον) 'Ηλία γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α[φ]  
75 εἰς χρείαν τοῦ οἴκ(ον) Ἀπασίωνο[ς] ἀμπ[ε]λ(ονγοῦ) πρὸς διόρ[θ(ωσιν)] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Παμουθίο(ν) ἀπὸ Λευκίο(ν) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ οἴκ(ον) Ζαχ[ι]ας πρε(σβυτέροι) ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ

εἰς χρείαν τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ λάκκ(ον) Ὁννωφρίο(ν) (καὶ) Ὁκ[.]ατὰ  
δόπτ(όπλ.) ,θ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ ἀρτοκ[ο]πίο(ν) Βίκτορος ἀρτοκ(όπου) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
80 εἰς χρείαν διο[φο]ρων γεωργ(ῶν) βληθ(έντα) εἰς τὰς π[ρο]σόψ(εις)  
τῶ[ν α]ὐτῶν λάκκων δόπτ(όπλ.) ,δφ  
εἰς χρε[αν] τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ λάκ[κον] Φιβ ἀπὸ Λευκι[ον] δόπτ(όπλ.) ,δ  
εἰς χρε[αν] τῆς διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ λάκ[κον] Φιβ ἀπὸ Λευκι[ον] δόπτ(όπλ.) ,γ  
εἰς χρε[αν] τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μ(η)χ(ανῆς) Παύλο(ν) γεωργ(ῶν) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ς  
85 γύ(ν.) [όπτ]ο(οπλ.) (μυριάδες) ε[(καὶ)] ,αφ λοιπ(αὶ) (μυριάδας) [α (καὶ)] ,δ[φ]  
c καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ε[π]οικ(ίου) Α[ε]νκ[ε]ρ(ν) [ν(πὲρ)] ιε (καὶ) α τῶν β ὥδ(ικ.)  
[λ]ήμμ(ατα) τού[των δόπτ(οπλ.) β]αυκ(άλια λβ [εἰς] (μυριάδας) [θ (καὶ) ,ς]

## Recto. Col. v.

[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Φιβ δόπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκ(ον) [τῆς] μ(η)χ(ανῆς) Πατικάπ δόπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
90 [εἰς] χρείαν τῆς μ(η)χ(ανῆς) .[.]γγ δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ατ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Καλα[ν] δόπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Πρήστ[ο]ς δόπτ(όπλ.) ν  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Λοῦλο δόπτ(όπλ.) τ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Τερώ δόπτ(όπλ.) ν  
95 εἰς χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Βο[ρ]ωῆς δόπτ(όπλ.) ν  
εἰς χρε[είαν] τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Παμονθ[ί]ο(ν) φρ(οντι-  
στοῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
εἰς χρε[είαν] τοῦ κ[ον]φοκερ(αμείου) ὑπὸ Πελ[α]λώ δόπτ(όπλ.) ω  
γύ(ν.) δόπτ(οπλ.) (μυριάδες) η (καὶ) ,βν λοιπ(η) (μυριάδας) α (καὶ) ,γ

καὶ [ἀ]πὸ Παγγολείου (καὶ) Μαργαρ[τον] ν(πὲρ) ιε (καὶ) α τῶν β ὥδ(ικ.)  
100 c [λ]ήμμ(ατα) δόπτοπλίνθω(ν) [βαυ]κ(άλια) ἔδ εἰς (μυριάδας) ιθ [(καὶ) ,β]  
ἔξ (ῶν) ἀν[η]λώθ(η) εἰς χρε[είαν] τοῦ ὄκνολάκ[κον] Πρε[ν]τος γεωργ(ῶν)  
ε[ις] χρε[αν] τοῦ λάκκ(ον) [..].ια μεζζο(νος) Εο[.]λω ὁ[πτ(οπλ.)] (μυριάδας) (καὶ) ,β  
ε[ις] χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] ..]α..η[.]ης (καὶ) Ἀ[π]ολλώ γεωργ(ῶν) δόπτ(όπλ.) .]σ  
[φ]

101 ? l. Πρε[ν]τον

## Recto. Col. vi.

105 [εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] Βαρθολομέ[ω]ς δόπτ(όπλ.) .  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] Άπολλώ φ[ρ]οντ(ιστοῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) .  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κ[ρ]ήνης Πιηοῦ[το]ς γεωργ(οῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) ω  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κ[ρ]ήνης μ(η)χ(ανῆς) βασιλ[ε]κῆς Άπολλώ γ[ε]ωργ(οῦ)  
δόπτ(όπλ.) χ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τοῦ λάκ[κον] Άμμωνί(ν) γεωργ(οῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) φ  
110 [εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Πραοῦ[το]ς Άπιμα δόπτ(όπλ.) ,γ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κ[ρ]ήνης Παπβαοῦ[το]ς γεωργ(οῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,γ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τοῦ λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Ιωσῆ[φ] (καὶ) Ισαάκ δόπτ(όπλ.) ψ  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κ[ρ]ήνης τοῦ λάκκ(ον) Ηλία γεωργ(οῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
[εἰς] χρείαν τῆς κ[ρ]ήνης Παύλου [γε]ωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ Μαργαρ[το]ν δόπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
115 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Άνεπ γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ α[ντ]οῦ δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ασ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης μ(η)χ(ανῆς) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ α[ντ]οῦ δόπτ(όπλ.)  
αφ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης μ(η)χ(ανῆς) Παμον[θε]ο(ν) γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ α[ντ]οῦ δόπτ(όπλ.)  
δόπτ(όπλ.) φ  
εἰς χρείαν τοῦ δ[ο]κνολάκκ(ον) Μέλα [γε]ωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αντ(οῦ) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ς  
εἰς χρείαν [..]φερ( ) λάκκ(ον) Άρωνος σιτο(μέτρου) Παγγ[ο]λείο(ν) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ς  
120 [γύ(ν.)] δόπτ[ο]πλ(ί)θ(ων) (μυριάδες) η (καὶ) ,ζφ λοιπ(αὶ) (μυριάδες) η (καὶ) ,δφ  
c [κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κτ[ήμ]ατος ..]ε[.]ον ν(πὲρ) ιε (καὶ) α τῶν β ὥδ(ικ.)  
[λ]ήμμ(ατα) [δόπτ(οπλ.) βαυ]κ(άλια) λ[β] εἰς (μυριάδες) θ (καὶ) ,ς]

## Recto. Col. vii.

εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τοῦ λάκ[κον] μ(η)χ(ανῆς) ιθ κλή[ρον] δόπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Κύρα[σ] Κ[ε]ρτ(ον) δόπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
125 εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Παη[σί]ον δόπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Πιμ[ού]ει δόπτ(όπλ.) ,ασ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τοῦ λάκ[κον] τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Εν[ω]χ γεωργ(οῦ)  
δόπτ(όπλ.) φ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τοῦ λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Πε[ρ]ώτα δόπτ(όπλ.) χ  
εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Τεμκ[.]νε δόπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
130 εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Ψαβῆ ὑ[π]ό Άπολλώ γεωργ[ρον] δόπτ(όπλ.) ,θ

εἰς χρείαν τ[ῆ]ς προσόψεως το(ῦ) πύργο(ν) τ[ῆ]ς μ[η]χ(ανῆς) Ἀβούκου ὀπτ(όπλ.)  
 δφ  
 εἰς χρείαν τ[ο]ῦ χείλους το(ῦ) λ[ά]κκ(ον) Ὁνωφ[ρ]έο(ν) Ἀβρααμίο(ν) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,γ  
 εἰς χρείαν [τ]ῆς μηχα(νῆς) το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) Πα[η]οῦτος γ[ε]ωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Ματαεὶ ὀπτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 135 εἰς χρείαν [τ]ο(ῦ) κουφοκερα(μείον) νέου ὑπὸ Ἀβρααμίο(ν) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Γερμάνο(ν) φροντι(στοῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Ψεσίο(ν) [ο]ἴκο(νόμου) ὀπτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Ἀνοῦπ [γ]εωργ(οῦ) [δ]πτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) ἄπα Ὡρ[ο]ν γ[ε]ωργ(οῦ) [δ]πτ(όπλ.) [.]  
 140 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Φίβ[η]σα[δ]κ οἱ κ'ο(νόμου) [

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Recto. Col. viii.

εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Ιωσ[η]φ πρεσβ(υτέρου) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ω  
 [εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης Σουροῦτος γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ρν  
 [εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Ἀνοῦπ γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ω  
 γ[ε]ν(ν.) ὀπτ(όπλ.) (μυριάδες) ζ (καὶ) ,ηφ(ν) λοιπ(ὴ) (μυριάς) α,ζν  
 145 c κ[αὶ] ἀπ[ὸ] το(ῦ) κτ[ῆ]μα(τος) Ὁρθων[η]ο(ν) (καὶ) Καλωρίας (καὶ) Περόεν ὑ(πὲρ)  
 ιε (καὶ) α τῶν β ἵδ(ικ.)  
 λ[ῆ]μμα(τα) ὀπτοπλίνθ(ων) — βαυκ(άλια) λ εἰς (μυριάδας) θ  
 ἔξ (ῶν) [ἀ]μηλώθη εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) βουστασίο(ν) Ἀννιδος γεωργ(οῦ) κτήμ(ατος)  
 Ὁρθων[η]ο[ν] ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
 [εἰς] χρείαν τῆς δ[η]μοθώσ(εως) το(ῦ) [ο]ἴκ(ον) Φίβ ἀπὸ το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) χείλους το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) Φοιβάμμωνος γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ)  
 ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 150 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) διορθ(ώσεως) το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Ιωάννο(ν) γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ το(ῦ)  
 [αὐ]τ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) χείλους το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον)] το(ῦ) ὄντο(ς) ἐπ[η] τῆς πύλη[ς] κ[αὶ] .ρ( )  
 ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 [εἰς] χ[ρείαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Ιουλίου [..]φωνος γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 [εἰς] χ[ρείαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Καπε[η]ο[ν]ος γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 [εἰς] χ[ρείαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Λάκρ[η]ο[ν] γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 155 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Κόμτ(ος) γ[ε]ωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Φοιβ[άμμωνος] γ[ε]ωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,ζ  
 [εἰς] χρ[είαν το(ῦ) οἴκ(ον) Απ[η]

Col. ix.

εἰς χ[ρείαν] τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Κολλούθο(ν) γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς μηχανῆς Φαλιές ὑπὸ Ἀπολλῶ γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,β  
 160 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Κομιτᾶ γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Μάρθα ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,α  
 εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) ἄπα Ὡρ γεωργ(οῦ) (καὶ) πρεσβ(υτέρου) ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,αφ  
 εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) Κήμε γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ Καλωρ[η]ας ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,θ  
 εἰς χρείαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῆς παρὰ ποταμὸν ὀπτ(όπλ.) ,ζ  
 165 εἰς χρείαν τῆς προσόψεως το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) Ψάν ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
 εἰς χρείαν το(ῦ) λάκκ(ον) Φιλοξένου γεωργ(οῦ) ὀπτ(όπλ.) φ  
 γί(ν.) ὀπτ(όπλ.) (μυριάδες) δ (καὶ) ,αφ λοιπ(αὶ) (μυριάδες) δ (καὶ) ,ηφ

[γί(ν.)] λήμμα(ατα) πάση(ς) τῆς δ[η]πτοπλάνθο(ν) (μυριάδες) πβ (καὶ) ,η  
 ἔξ (ῶν)  
 [ἀ]μηλώθ(η) εἰς γεουχικ(άς) χρείας (μυριάδες) νζ (καὶ) ,ηρν  
 170 ]. λ[οιπ(αὶ)?]  
 ]( ) ταξη[η].[ κε (καὶ) ,ζν

Verso. Col. i.

+λήμμα(ατα) πλάνθ(ον) τῆς διοικ(ήσεως) τοῦ κόμ(ιτος) Κρημίο(ν) β καὶ γ  
 ὕδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) σος καὶ  
 175 ν(πέρ) λοιπ(ῶν) ιε καὶ α ὕδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) γί(ν.) βαυκ(άλια)  
 οὔτως.  
 δι(ά) Πανεσηνοῦ ἐργοδώκτ(ον) οῦ(τως).  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τοῦ ὀκνολάκ(κον) βληθ(έντος) ὑπὸ Ἀλῶ γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος)  
 Ὁρ[θ]ων[η]ο[ν] ἐπὶ τῆς β καὶ γ ὕδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) ι[.]  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλούμ(ένης) Φαλιές ὑπὸ Ἀπολλῶ γεωργ(οῦ)  
 ἀπὸ Ορθωνίου γ ὕδ(ικ.) πλάνθ(οι) φ  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχανῆς καλούμ(ένης) Βαυραρο[η] ( ) ὑπὸ Κομήτην  
 γεωργ(οῦ) ἐπὶ τῆς γ ὕδ(ικ.) πλάνθ(οι) φ  
 180 εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς προσόψεως τῆς μηχανῆς καλούμ(ένης) τῶν [.]νουθροῦ ὑπὸ<sup>φ</sup>  
 οὐ[βάμ]μωνα  
 γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ Ορθωνίου(ν) ἐπὶ τῆς γ ὕδ(ικ.) πλάνθ(οι) ,α  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς κρήνης τῆς μηχανῆς καλούμ(ένης) Λίχου ὑπὸ Κυ[ντο]ν  
 γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ἐπὶ τῆς γ ὕδ(ικ.) πλάνθ(οι) ,α

*εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς προσόψιμεως τῆς μηχ[αν(ῆς)] καλουμ(ένης) τοῦ Ἀγρο(ῦ) ὡ[πὸ . . ]. ιωνον  
γεωργ(ὸν) ἀπὸ τοῦ [αὐτ(οῦ)] πλάνθ(οι) φ  
εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς προσόψιμεως τῆς μηχ[αν(ῆς)] καλουμ(ένης) Κοινῆς ὑπὸ [ . . . . . ] αν  
γεω[ργ(ὸν)] ἀπὸ τοῦ [αὐτ(οῦ) ἐπὶ] τῆς γ πλάνθ(οι) φ*

185 *εἰς χρεί(αν) τοῦ σ[. . .] φυ τῆς ἐκκλ(ησίας) τοῦ [ . . ]ηκ( ) καλογ[μ(ένου)] . . σ[.]  
ἐ[πὶ τῆς] β ὥδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) δ  
εἰς χρεί(αν) το[ῦ λάκ(κου) τῆς] μηχα(νῆς) [ . . . . . ] κ. φυ . . . [ . . . ] ἐπὶ τῆς γ  
ὥδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) δ  
εἰς χρ[εί(αν) . . . . . ] οἴκο(υ) [ . . . . . . . . . ] ωρ[. . . . . ὕ] πὸ Ψ[ πλίν-  
θ(οι) ] φ*

Verso. Col. ii.

δι(ἀ) Βίκτορος ἐργοδιώκ[τ(ον)] Νέου ο[ῦ(τωσ)·]  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τ[οῦ] βληθ(έντος) νέου λ[ά]κκ(ον) κτήμ(ατος) [Π]αήσιος ἐπὶ [μ]ηχ(ανῆς)  
 καλουμ(ένης) Κές ύπὸ

190     <sup>ῳ</sup>Ωρ ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Θαήσιος ἐ[π]ὶ τῆς β[ι]νδ(ικ.) β[ι]α[υ]κ(άλια) γ  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τ[ῆ]ς διορθώσ(εως) τοῦ λάκκου ἐ[ν] κ[α]τήμ(ατι) Πήλεως ύπὸ Γεώργ(ιον)  
             [γ]εωρ(γὸν)  
 ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Π[ή]λεως ἐπὶ τῆς β[ι]νδ(ικ.) β[ι]α[υ]κ(άλια) δ  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τ[ῆ]ς κρήνης τ(ῆς) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Παείου μηχ(ανῆς) τῆς  
 καὶ Νέου ύπὸ Ιωάννο(ν)  
 [π]ρ(εσβύτερον) καὶ γεωρ(γὸν) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) κ[α]τήμ(ατος) Νέου ἐπὶ τῆς β[ι]  
 ίνδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλιον) α

195 εἰς χρεί(αν) τ[ο]ο(ν) λάκ(κον) τῆς μηχαν(ῆς) καλουμ(ένης) [...].νωπίου [ἀ]πὸ  
 κτήμ(ατος) Νέ(ον) ύπὸ Ονυώφ[ρ]ον  
 Σαμουνηλίο(ν) γεωργ(ὸν) ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Νέον ἐπὶ [β]ινδ(ικ.) β[ι]α[υ]κ(άλιον) α  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) [τοῦ] χ[ε]ιλούς τοῦ λάκ(κον) τῆς [μηχ(ανῆς) κα]λουμ(ένης) <sup>Ἄπ[ι]</sup>τος  
 ύπὸ Γε[ω]ργιον Πι. [...]

[γε]ωρ(γὸν) ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Νέο(ν) [ἐπὶ τῆς] β[ι]νδ(ικ.) β[ι]α[υ]κ(άλιον) α  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) [τῆ]ς προσόψεως τῆς [μηχ(ανῆς) κα]λουμ(ένης) Καρι.γτ( ) ἀπὸ  
 κτήμ(ατος) Νέο(ν)

200     [ύπ]ὸ Φοιβάμμωνα γεωρ(γὸν) [ἀπὸ κ]τήμ(ατος) < > ἐπὶ τῆ[s] β[ι]νδ(ικ.) < >  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) [τῆς] προσόψεως τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμένης Ιεκλ[.] ύπὸ Κτ[...]  
         γεωργ[ι]ον (καὶ) ἅπα Ετω[...] ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) < > πλ[ά]νθ(οι)  
 [εἰς χρεί(αν) τ]ῶν τοίνω[ν] τῶν ε[.....].χ.εν[.....] ύπὸ]

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Verso. Col. iii.

δι(ά) Ἀπολλῶ ἐ[ργοδ]ιώκτ(ου) κτήμ(ατος) Θαήσιος οῦ[τω]ς·  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τοῦ [β]λη(θέντος) νέον λάκκ(ου) κτήμ(ατος) Θαήσι[ο]ς ἐν τῇ μηχ(ανῆ)  
 καλ[ου]μ(ένη) Καινῆς  
 ὑπὸ Φοι[β]άμμων πρ(εσβύτερον) [ἀ]πὸ τ(οῦ) αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμ(ατος) ἐπὶ τῆς β  
 ὥδ(ικ.) βαυκ(άλια) β

δι(ά) [Σ]ερήνο(υ) ἐργοδι[ώ]κτ(ου) κτήμ(ατος) Πα[ρ]θενάδος οῦ(τως)·  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τοῦ βλη[η(θέντος)] νέον λάκκ(ου) [ἐν] τῇ μηχ(ανῆ) καλουμ(ένη)  
 Άστερίου ὑπὸ Ε[ν]ωχ γεωρ(γὸν)  
 ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Παρθενάδος ἐπὶ τῆς β [(καὶ)] γ ὥδ(ικ.) β[α]γκ(άλια) ις  
 δι(ά) Ιω[ά]ννο(υ) ἐργοδιώκτ(ου) κτήμ(ατος) Πον[...]ν καὶ ἄλλ(ων) οῦ(τως)·  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τοῦ βλη(θέντος) νέον λάκου ἐν τ[ῇ] μηχ(ανῆ) καλουμ(ένη) Αστε-  
 ρίου ὁμοί(ως) ὑπ[ό] Ενωχ γεωρ(γὸν)

ἀπ[ό] δι[ν]ού αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμ(ατος) Παρθ[ε]νάδος ἐπὶ τῇ[s] β] ὥδ(ικ.) βα[ρ]κ(άλιον) α  
 [εἰ]ς χρεί(αν) τῆς διορ[θ(άσεως)] τοῦ[ν] λάκ(κου) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) [...]ρ( )  
 ὑπὸ τὸν αὐ(τὸν) πρ(εσβύτερον)

ἀπὸ κτ[ήμ(ατος)] Ναρκίσσο(υ) ἐπὶ τῆς β [ἰν]δ(ικ.) β[α]ν[κ]άλια) γ  
 εἰς χρεί(αν) τῆς κρήν[η]ς τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) [...]ν]πὸ Άνοιπ φρ(ον-  
 τιστὴν) καὶ γεωρ(γὸν)

ἀπὸ κτ[ήμ(ατος)] Βαειούμον ἐπὶ τῆς β [ἰν]δ(ικ.) βαν[κ]άλια) β  
 [εἰ]ς χρεί(αν) τοῦ βλη(θέντος) νέον λάκ(κου) ἐν τῇ [μ]ηχ(ανῆ) καλουμ(ένη) Ταλ[ε]ὶ  
 ... ὑπὸ [...] κηπουρ(ὸν)

ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Τάλιδ(os) [ἐπὶ] τῆς β [ἰν]δ(ικ.) βαν[κ]άλια) δ  
 [εἰ]ς χρεί(αν) τοῦ[ν] τελ[ε]υτῆς τῆς μηχ(ανῆς). εων βοι[λιβ]... ὑπὸ [...]ω  
 γεωρ(γὸν)... βαν[κ]άλιον) α

Verso, on the back of col. i, along the fibres.  
+Γυῶσ(ις) τῆς πλάνθ(ου) Παπυνούθιον ἐπικεψι(ένου) ιε καὶ α τῶν ἵνδ(ικ.)

<sup>1</sup> For the *μερίδες*, see E. R. Hardy, *Great Estates*, pp. 47-9. It is doubtful whether this text supports his view that the *μερίδες* were administrative divisions of the nomes at this period, for which usage the latest definite evidence is in P. Flor. 75 (A.D. 380). It seems unlikely that administrative divisions would have been connected with the collection and issuing of bricks, and it may be noted

that here, as in other cases quoted by Hardy, the *μερίδες* are distinguished by the names of individuals in charge of them. More probably, then, they were divisions of the Apion estate.

<sup>3</sup> *βανκάλιον* usually means *jug*, as in 936 6 (third century A.D.); throughout this text it is used to denote a capacity measure containing 3,000 bricks (cf. l. 72). The word is almost certainly to be read in 2055 42, where the editors read *βαρ[...]*a.

<sup>4</sup> *πρόσωφις* in the sense *facing* of a building (here the brick facing of a pond or small reservoir) is not quoted in the lexicons.

<sup>18</sup> *ὅρτος*: possibly *boundary wall*, or it may be the Latin *horreum* (as in P. Lond. v. 1823, 14).

<sup>34</sup> This sign like an open sigma (c) was used by the writer to mark where the account of a new village or group of villages began.

<sup>62</sup> *Τρῆμε*: cf. 66 below. Perhaps to be identified with the *Tρῆμε* of 2016 10.

<sup>64</sup> For *ἀπόστασις* = *storehouse*, cf. e.g. 2005 6.

<sup>66</sup> *δκνόλακκος*, which appears frequently in this account, has not hitherto been known. For a discussion of the obscure word *όκνος*, see P. Mert. 41, 2 note. It is possible that it was used to denote the breastwork of a ship, and in that case *δκνόλακκος* might be an artificial pool with a low brick wall round it.

<sup>67</sup> *περίπατος*: a *surround*, or *enclosing wall*, a meaning which it may bear in the only instance quoted by Preisigke, P. Lond. v. 1842, where he translates *Begehung, Besichtigung* (des Grundstückes). Possibly the neuter form *περίπατον* should be kept (see below, l. 73); but there is no evidence for it apart from this text.

<sup>98</sup> The total number of bricks used in the *ἐποίκιον Λευκίου* (l. 86) amounts to 9,600; consequently, deducting this from 96,000 (l. 87), we should expect the figure here to be *τοῦ* (καὶ) *συ*, but *β* has been written instead of *σ*.

<sup>168</sup> As the totals of the separate accounts show, the figure first written (828,000) is correct, not that added above the line (850,000).

<sup>174</sup> The numerals have been omitted on both occasions after *βανκ(άλια)*.

<sup>218</sup> Some figures have been scrawled in the margin against this line, probably as a memorandum.

## MINOR DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

**2198.** 12·6×12 cm., second century A.D. Fragments of official correspondence. Probably a letter of a strategus to a higher official. He announces that a debtor to whom he had to hand over a *διαστολικόν*, is not to be found. Ll. 2-9: [δ]τι μέχ[ρι τοῦ νῦ] οὐ δεδύνημαι εὑρεῖν τὸν <sup>3</sup>[ ἵνα δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν σ]πηρετ[ῶν μον] μεταδῶ τὸ διαστολικόν <sup>4</sup>[ λιπόντο[s] . . . . .] καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μή τι εὐ<sup>5</sup>-<sup>5</sup> [ρω(?)] δυνάμεθα πρᾶξαι. ἔζήτησα δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ <sup>6</sup>[ εἰμαι ἐν [τῇ] Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ λέγοντο<sup>7</sup> [ ἀ]λλὰ ἐν τῇ [H]ρακλέους διὰ τὸ μετεστά- <sup>8</sup>[ναι (l. μεθεστάναι) ] as, καὶ νῦν οὖν καθ' ὥραν πορεύομαι <sup>9</sup> [εἰς πολυπραγμονῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰ [

**2199.** 28×25·8 cm. Petition?. The document is written in an official hand with Latin influence; 23 lines of the first column are preserved, but only the last 13 lines completely, and the beginnings of 23 lines of the second column. The subject is a dispute concerning the inheritance of a Roman citizen, perhaps a soldier. The position is not clear; but it seems that a certain Areia, as his daughter, has registered the inheritance. Dioscorus, however, probably the *tutor* of a child, alleges that his pupil is the child of the soldier. He has to prove that the child is a Roman citizen (col. i 18) and for this reason to produce its birth-certificate

(col. i 19, 21); it seems, however, that he is not able to do this. In col. i 14-15 a new strategus of the Sebennytē nome occurs, and in col. i 23 we may most probably restore the name Iulius Pardalas, who is known as idios logos for A.D. 123 (cf. Plaumann, *Idioslogos*, p. 68). Therefore the document may be dated in the reign of Hadrian; in col. ii 12 a thirteenth year occurs, but this may be a year of Trajan. Col. i 10-23: καὶ ἀντί[ρ]αφον κατ[αγ]ραφῆς κληρονομίας <sup>11</sup> ὡς γενομένης εἰς τ[ὴ]ν τῶν ἐνκτήσεων ἑκεί- <sup>12</sup> νοι τοῦ νομοῦ β[ι]βλιοθήκην καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα <sup>13</sup> τοῦ Διοσκόρου [λ]έγοντος ἀγνοεῖν, εἰ τῇ Ἀρείᾳ <sup>14</sup> προσήκει η̄ κληρονομία, γεγραφέναι Ποντίωι <sup>15</sup> Ἀντωνείωι τῶν ἑκέγου τοῦ νομοῦ στρα- <sup>16</sup> τηγῶνι ἔξετάσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν παρ αὐτῷ βι- <sup>17</sup> βλίων καὶ δηλώσαι οὖν, ὡς ἔχειν ἀντιγεγραφέ- <sup>18</sup> ναι, καὶ ἐπεὶ περὶ πολεύτειας καὶ τὸ ζητούμε- <sup>19</sup> ρον περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδίου ἀπαρχῆς καὶ τὸν Διοσκόρο[ρ]οι δὲ μὲν προφέρεσθαι μή δύνασθαι ἀπο- <sup>21</sup> [δοῦναι, δτ]έ δὲ ἐκζητήσαι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐπ[ι- <sup>22</sup> γεννήσε]ως καὶ ἐποίσειν, πεπομφέναι ἐπ[ι- <sup>23</sup>] Ιούλιον Παρδαλᾶν τὸν γενούμ[ε]νον πρὸς τ[ῷ]ι: [ἰδίαι λόγωι ]).

**2200.** 13×7·3 cm. Early second century A.D. The address of this private letter is missing, a fact which proves clearly that only the second column of the letter is preserved. In l. 3 the writer alludes to a visit of the prefect to Coptos at the date of his letter; cf. 529, where the writer says he is going to accompany the prefect to Coptos. The handwriting of our document being an early second-century one, the prefect may be Petronius Mamertinus, who is known to have held a conventus at Coptos in A.D. 134; cf. Reinmuth, *Prefect of Egypt*, p. 100: <sup>1</sup>Σωτήριχος δ ἡμέ- <sup>2</sup>τερος περιέτυχεν <sup>3</sup>μοι τῇ <sup>4</sup>ἐν Κόπτῳ, <sup>4</sup>η̄ παρεγένετο καὶ <sup>5</sup>δ κράτιστος ἡγεμών. <sup>6</sup>καὶ ὡς ἐπ[ν]θανόμην <sup>7</sup>αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν καθ' <sup>8</sup>μᾶς, ἔμαθον ἀκολουθ(οῦντα) <sup>9</sup>αὐτὸν Νεμεσιανῷ <sup>10</sup> ἔνεκεν ἐπιστολ(ῆς) καὶ <sup>11</sup>δη ἐν τῷ νομ[ῳ] γεγονέ- <sup>12</sup> ναι. περὶ μογῶγ [.]..α <sup>13</sup>π[...]ολ[.....].....

**2201.** 28×25·8 cm. On the verso of 2199. Parts of two columns of an account in an early third-century handwriting. It is probably the account of a large estate. The main part of col. i concerns the transportation of *χόρτος* and *ἄχυρον* for the *πλωθιουργίου* ἔργα: several times the words *ὄνο(ι) β ορ γ (ῶν) ὀνηλ(άτης) Ζώσμος* occur; in l. 31 the subject changes and we read *όμοιως Παχῶν γενημάτων*. The first part of col. ii concerns again the costs for building: we read, e.g., *οἰκοδόμω*, *τείχους, κεραμεῖ, ὀνηλάτη*; the last ten lines concern land property, e.g. *σπέρματος λωκαλέ[μον], καρπῶν, βοτανολογίας*.

**2202.** 11×16·3 cm. A.D. 592. Probably an agreement to make supplies to the 'divine house', of the same type as 1896. Only the beginning is preserved: the formula is practically the same as in 1896, and the same Menas acts for the estate in both texts. Its interest is that it is the earliest document in which Flavius Apion III appears as sole owner (see introd. to 2196) and also in the title of the

Emperor Maurice, who is here called *νέος Τιβέριος*: there is no parallel to this in the papyri. <sup>1</sup> [+Ba]σιλε[τ]ας τοῦ [θ]ειω[τ]άτου καὶ [ἐ]νδεβεστάτου<sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν [δ]εσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτο[υ] Φλ(ανίου) Μα[ν]υρικίου νέο[υ] <sup>3</sup> Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰών[ι]ου Αὐγού[σ]του καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ια ὑπατίας τοῦ<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ ε[ν]τε[ρ]εβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἔτους ι Φαρμοῦθι αὶ ἵδικ.) ια <sup>5</sup> Φλανίω Ἀπίων τῷ π[α]νευφήμῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων γεουχοῦντι<sup>(ι)</sup> καὶ <sup>6</sup> ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλει διὰ Μηρη<sup>7</sup> οἰκέτους τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος<sup>[ς]</sup> καὶ προσπορ[τ]ζοντος τῷ ιδίῳ <sup>8</sup> δεσπότῃ τῇ παγε[ν]φήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχ[ὴ]ν Α]ὑρόλιῳ<sup>[ι]</sup> (traces of a few more letters).

**2203.**  $16\cdot3 \times 30$  cm. (also small fragments, unattached): much blackened. Concluding portion of a deed of surety; cf. 135, 996, 1979, and P.S.I. 61 (where the formula is practically identical with that in l. 5 below). In general, see E. R. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 69, 76 seqq. <sup>1</sup> ἔτερον τ[ο]ῦ πον[α] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ <sup>2</sup> π[αρὰ] τῆς ίμων ὑπερφυείας διὰ τῶν α[ὐ]τῆς προσήκοντων ἐν οἰδηπότες ήμέ[ρα] <sup>3</sup> ο[ιας] δήπο[τε] ἔνεκεν προφάσεως τοῦτον π[αρ]α[θ]ε[ρ]ων καὶ παραδώσω <sup>4</sup> δίχα π[α]ντὸς τότ[ο]ι[ν] προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρεληφα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ <sup>5</sup> τοῦ ἐνδόξου [ὑ]μῶν οἴκου εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, όμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσι <sup>6</sup> {πᾶσιν} τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιζητούμενοις ἀποκρύνασθαι· κυρίᾳ ή ἐγγύῃ ἀπλῇ <sup>7</sup> [γ]ραφεῖσα καὶ <sup>8</sup> [π]ερ (ωτηθεὶς) ἀμολ(όγησα). Θεόδωρος ἀρχιστύμμαχος νιὸς Σερήνου ὁ προ- <sup>8</sup> [γ]ε[γ]ραμμένος. [•]. Traces of two more lines.

2204. 13·8×39·7 cm. Sixth century. Beginning of account rendered to Flavius Apion II of receipts in corn and money, written in a large official hand; cf. 2019, in l. 1 of which [ὑπερφνεστά]τῷ should probably be substituted for [ἐνδοξοῦ]τῷ. On the verso, in a different hand, is part of an account, imperfectly preserved, of a distribution of wine. <sup>1</sup> Φλανίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[περφνεστά]τῳ (άτῳ) κόμετι <sup>2</sup> τῶν καθοσι[μω(ένων)] δ[ο]μεστικ(ών) καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὁρδ[ι]ναρ(ών) καὶ πατρικ(ίῳ) <sup>3</sup> γεονούσιντι κ[αὶ] ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ῷ) <sup>4</sup> Οἰξυ[μγ]ων πόλει <sup>4</sup> λόγος λημ- μ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) γενομ(ένων) δι’ ἐμοῦ Π[αύ]λου προν(οητοῦ) <sup>5</sup> προστασίᾳ Ἀσπιδᾶ καὶ Κυάμωνος καὶ Π[ερο]ῦν καὶ Πανίας <sup>6</sup> καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἔξωτικ(ών) τόπων ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ(ικ.) Traces of four more lines.

2205. 15×22 cm. Lower part of a column containing an account, perhaps a draft.  
<sup>1</sup> γι[νεται νο(μ.)] λβ<sup>2</sup>κδ ἀφ' (δν) ἡν(έχθη) δι(ἀ) τῶν ἔξης λεγομ[ένων], <sup>2</sup> οὐτως<sup>3</sup> δι(ἀ)  
<sup>4</sup> Φ[ι]λ[ο]ξένου ἔξκ(έπτορος) καὶ χωμάτ(ων) ἐπικ(ειμένου) ὑπὲρ λοιπάδ(ος) <sup>4</sup> χωμάτων ιδ  
 ἵνδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) γ. <sup>5</sup> δι(ἀ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετί ὑπὲρ λοιπάδ(ος) χωμάτ(ων) ιδ <sup>6</sup> ἵνδ(ικ.)  
 νο(μ.) <sup>7</sup> τδι(ἀ) τῶν δεσποτικ(ῶν) ὑπὲρ ιδ ἵνδ(ικ.) <sup>8</sup>[π]ερ χωμάτ(ων) νο(μ.) λ[.]. <sup>8</sup> δι(ἀ)  
 τῶν ἀπὸ Σπατ[ι]ς ὑπὲρ ιγ (ἵνδ(ικ.)) ὑπὲρ χωμάτ(ων) νο(μ.) ι[.]. <sup>9</sup> δι(ἀ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετί<sup>9</sup>  
 ὑπὲρ χωμάτ(ων) ιγ (ἵνδ(ικ.)) γο(μ.) ιβ. <sup>10</sup> δι(ἀ) Φοιβάμμιωνος σκρινιαρ(ίου) καὶ χωμάτ(ων)  
 ἐπικειμ(ένου) ὑπὲρ λοιπάδος τοῦ <sup>11</sup> λόγου αὐτοῦ ιγ ἵνδ(ικ.) νο(μ.) ιδιψ <sup>12</sup> δι(ἀ) τοῦ  
 αὐτ(οῦ) Φοιβάμμιωνος σκρινιαρ(ίου) ὑπὲρ ιβ ἵνδ(ικ.) ὑπὲρ χωμάτ(ων) νο(μ.) κα.

2206.  $38.6 \times 16.6$  cm. Sixth century. Lower part of three consecutive columns of an account in money. In col. i (the lines of which are incomplete) the payments are for men working on the embankments. Col. ii: <sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παῦντι ιζὶ ἵνδικ. [ ]. [ ] γρ(μ.) γ<sup>2</sup> χειρογραφ(ία) Γεωργίο(ν) μείζονος νιό(δ) Φίβ καὶ Πέτρου κωμάρχ(ον) νιό(δ) Μαθίο(ν) ἀπὸ κώμης Ιούν(ν) Παγγᾶ γεναμένης <sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ μηνὸς Επειφὶ ἵνδικ. ιγ νο(μ.) γ<sup>4</sup> χειρογραφ(ία) τοῦ εὐλαβεστ(άτου) Παμβαχίο(ν) πρεσβυτέρους καὶ οἰκονόμ(ον) τῆς ἀγίας ἑκκλησίας ἀββᾶ Ιερακίων γεναμένης <sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ μηνὸς Φαρμούθι ζὶ ἵνδικ. ιγ νο(μ.) γ<sup>6</sup> χειρογραφ(ία) Κυριακοῦ(ν) καὶ Αἰείων λατόμ(ον) (l. λαοτ.) Τρυμίο(ν) [δ] πὲρ τιμῆς λθ(ον) ἀγορασθ(έντος) παρ' αὐτῶν <sup>7</sup> εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τοῦ χώματ(ος) τῆς Νοτινῆς Παρορίο(ν) νο(μ.) β. <sup>8</sup> Ιωάννη πλωθ(εντή) πλα[ν]θεύοντ(ι) εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τοῦ χώματ(ος) τῆς αὐτῆς Νοτινῆς Παρορίο(ν) λόγιος μίσθιον νο(μ.) α. <sup>9</sup> χειρογραφ(ία) Βίκτορος ἀπὸ Πολέμωνος καὶ Γεωργίο(ν) ἀπὸ Ἡρακλᾶ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἔγκαυματ(ος) ἀγορασθ(έντος) παρ' αὐτῶν <sup>10</sup> εἰς χ[ρεῖ(αν)] τῆς πλανθ(ον) βληθεύσης εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν τὸ χώμα Μεσορὴ ζὶ ἵνδικ. ιγ νο(μ.) β. Col. iii: <sup>11</sup> μηνὸς διοθέντ(ων) δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ νο(μ.) κδ γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γζψ. <sup>12</sup> γί(ν.) κουφίζομένα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐν ταῖς ἔξης κώμαισι τε καὶ κτήμασι <sup>13</sup> τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου καὶ ἄλλοισι νο(μ.) πγ. <sup>14</sup> δι(ά) τῶν ἀπὸ Τακόνα νο(μ.) κ. δι(ά) τῶν ἀπὸ Σπανίας νο(μ.) ι. <sup>15</sup> δι(ά) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετί νο(μ.) ιβ. δι(ά) τῶν ἀπὸ Δεφώνο(μ.) β. <sup>16</sup> δι(ά) τῶν ἀπὸ Μεσκανούνιος νο(μ.) β. δι(ά) τῶν δεσποτικῶν νο(μ.) λξ <sup>17</sup> γί(ν.) τὰ προκείμενα νο(μ.) πγ. λοιπ(ά) νο(μ.) ιδψ. In l. 9 ἔγκαυμα probably denotes a species of baked brick or tile, hardly an encaustic painting. The initial letters of l. 11 might be part of κώμη.

2207.  $34\cdot4 \times 13$  cm. Sixth century. List of villages on the Apion estate. Each name is on a separate line. Col. i: Πετρωνίου, Νέον Ταμπετί, Ἀπελῆ, <sup>5</sup>Ψευπέκλη, Ματρεῦ, Φάκρα, Ἀρτοκοπίο(ν), Ὁρθωνίου, <sup>10</sup>Τερύθεως, Πιάα, Ἀσπιδᾶ, Νίκης, Μεγάλης Παρορίου, <sup>15</sup>Πολέμωνος, Τακόνα (καὶ) Θώλθει, Μεσκανόνεος, Πακέρκυ, Νετνήου, <sup>20</sup>Λέοντος, [Κτή]σιος, [Εναγ]γελίου, [...]οσλερδον [...]ονον, <sup>25</sup>[...]λίτιδος. Col. ii: [[Ἐρ...ττερθωνίου]], Μεγάλου Ρούχεως, [[Ταρουθίνου]], [[Παρθενιάδος]], <sup>30</sup>[[Πενσέμπους]], Σκυταλίτιδος, Φατεμῆτ. In l. 25 the name is probably not Σκυταλίτιδος, as this occurs in l. 31.

## VOL. XVIII. ADDENDA

2160.

Fr. 9.

].ων[  
].ξετ[  
].ν.[  
].ρ[      ]...[  
5    ].δε[.....]ωχ[  
]αποντιασαλος[

3 ], perhaps π .[, a trace consistent with a circular letter  
6 κυρ]α

5 ], o or c

2166 (c). 30. 1234 fr. 2 ii 1-3 (= D 14, 1-3) + a new fragment.

εν[.].λα[  
λᾶβρως  
πίμπλεισιν   κτλ.

2166 (c). 1360. 31. 2 (= D 16) + a new fragment.

].εντην  
].νοδεπλάτν  
].κκεφάλας.μάτει  
].α  
5 ].ντει   κτλ.  
3 κα]κ κεφ.

32. 6, 2 (= D 4 (b), 2) + a new fragment.

]ναι[.].ων[

33. 9 + a new fragment.

4 ].δε[  
].ται[  
].τω[  
.

.νελ[. ].  
].δελφέων[  
].εοσθελη[  
].ωπαρ[  
5 ].μ[  
2 α]δελφέων   3 e.g. αἱ κε θέος θελη

35.

].τοκ[  
].εν[  
].ακρ[  
].δος[

36.

].νε[.      ].ω[  
].κρ[  
].ην[

37.

].α[  
].ν[  
].ην[

38.

].].[.][  
].νκα[  
.

39. P.O. 1611 fr. 34 is to be assigned to this MS.

2167 fr. 5, 11 seq. Professor Pfeiffer has identified these two lines. They are Call. fr. 129 and should be written:

παρη[.]α[.]ε[τοιοκαμινοις  
ετραφεναιραωνεργ]αδιδα[.]κομε[νοι

2171. After much hesitation I am now inclined to believe that it is more likely than not that not only fr. 5 but also fr. 4 col. i contains the ends of lines of fr. 2 col. ii. If this is correct, lines 2, 4, 10, and 16 will appear as follows:

2 αιτωπιβαθροντωθρογ[.]τοχρυ[.].  
4 ...].δ[.]ειρανπεντε[.]ρ[...].[...]δων  
10 ..].μεντριεεστομακρο[.]ιδ[.].[...]δεκα  
16 αυτοσδοδαιμωνπ.ν[.].[.].εφεδ[.]δος

Line 2 then is evidently καὶ τῶπιβαθρον τῶ θρόν[ω] τὸ χρύ[α]ον. It seems to have been accepted hitherto that the dark limestone of the pedestal was used to set off the rest of the rich materials. In line 4 perhaps πέντε ..[.]ρ[...] π[ο]δῶν should be recognized, but though this seems correct for the height of the pedestal, it will not by itself do for the breadth, which is more than six

times as much. Line 10, ..]*ι μὲν τρὶς ἐε τὸ μακρὸν* ιδ[.].[...] δέκα, now gives the length, as l. 11 the breadth, of the throne, thirty by twenty. I cannot identify the linear unit.

For line 16 I should hazard *αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δαιμων πέντε* τ[ἀ]c ἐφεδρ[έ]δος κτλ. 'the figure is 5 cubits taller than its chair', but I find no kind of support for such a form as *ἐφεδρίς*.

As to the illegible note opposite the end of l. 8, it may be supposed that it was meant to explain the combination of letters *ἄπιθώγυον*, which is not at first sight perfectly lucid.

Fr. 4 ii will be the beginnings of ll. 22–5 of the following epode. None of them are found in 661.

2175. I now believe that frs. 3 and 4 belong to the same column and should be joined in such a way that ll. 24–5 run:

].ιωνν[.]ω.[  
]μβολ[.]δοντε[ κτλ.

*Διωνύ[ξ]ωι* may be possible, but I should prefer to take the first letter for a *ξ*. The lines of fr. 4 will run from 24 to 52.

2176 frs. 3–5. I believe myself now to have found the point of attachment of frs. 3–4 and, what is more valuable, to have recognized the general run of the argument in what will be ll. 2–8 of a single piece. The text reads:

]λαιμαιδεσοιτο ]λοσως[...]διου[...]τουλαιμονωςαν ],ωσει[.]ελεγε[...]ακτικονδετο 5 ]νοερωδιο[.....]κ[...]τοιςπεριτονο δ[...]εντ[...]ρυκτ[...]ειαιαθηναιπ πεμ[.]τ[...]υτο[...]ωνοναρπασομε νοις κτλ.	]λαιμᾶι δέ σοι τὸ χεῖ]λος ὁς [έρω]διοῦ· [ἀπὸ] τοῦ λαιμοῦ ωσαν ...].ωσει[.]ε λέγε[ι. ἀρπ]ακτικὸν δέ τὸ ὅρνεο]ν ὁ ἐρωδιό[σ εστι.] κ[αι] τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Ο- δ[...]έα ἐν τ[ῆ]ν τυκτ[ηγρ]είαι 'Αθηνᾶ ἐπι- πέμπ[ε]ι τ[οῦτο]ν τὸν [οἰ]ωνὸν ἀρπασομέ- νοις κτλ.
--	--

It was slow-witted not to have seen at once the Greek name of the tenth book of the *Iliad* and so have been led to the reference, l. 274.

There is not much doubt that this newly constituted fragment stood below fr. 1 col. i, I cannot say at what interval.

Fr. 8 The beginnings of ll. 1–5 are to be found in fr. 2, 2–6, the ends of ll. 2–3 in the fragment published as 1233 fr. 29, which, with the kind permission of Bodley's Librarian, I now restore to its place. The text will run:

].[ .[  
.τουςεπιχροο[ ]εως[  
ςωμαψυχηταιννο[...]πιαμμονθα-  
λα]cciaν ἔ[κ]βάλλουσι τρ[ιτα]νον ἐκ κήρυ-  
(4, now) 5 ]ασμ[...]εμιν κτλ.

αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ χρόνο[ν ] ἔως τ[ὸ]  
σῶμα ψύχηται. νῦν δ[έ] ἐπὶ ἄμμον θα-  
λα]cciaν ἔ[κ]βάλλουσι τρ[ιτα]νον ἐκ κήρυ-  
κο]c ἄσμε[νοι δ]έ μιν κτλ.

## Fr. 17.

]καιιππων[  
]  
]καλοσλακω[  
].x..[

] ρ[  
] μια[  
]τον σοςβα[  
].. τοικι[

## Fr. 18.

## INDICES

(The figures 21 are to be supplied before 57-99, the figures 22 before 00-07; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small Roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the New Edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word does not occur in the papyrus, but is added from other sources or by conjecture; round brackets, in the indices to non-literary texts, that the word is not complete in the papyrus. In Index I dialect forms have been reduced to Attic forms where the latter are known.)

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

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|---|---|
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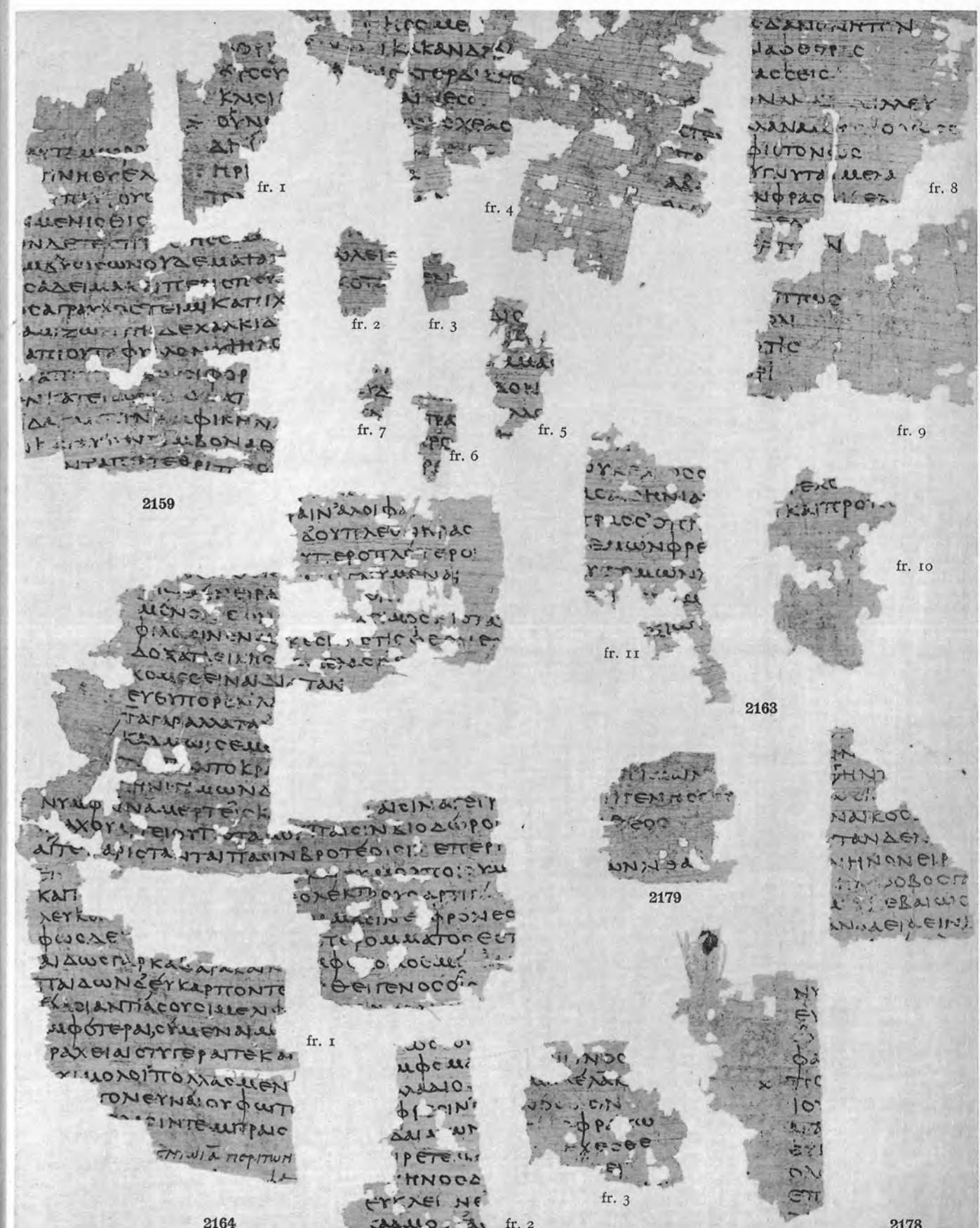
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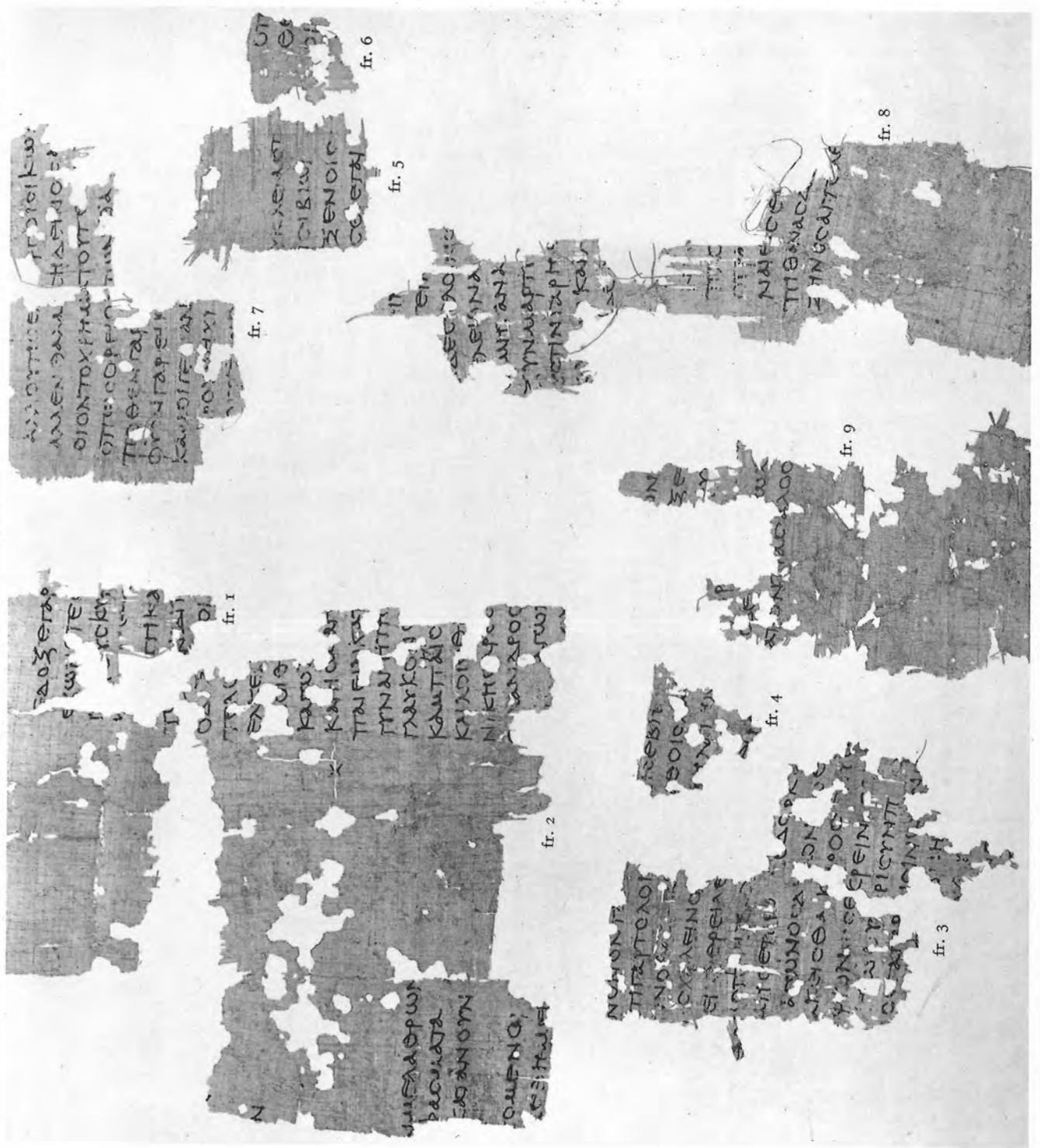
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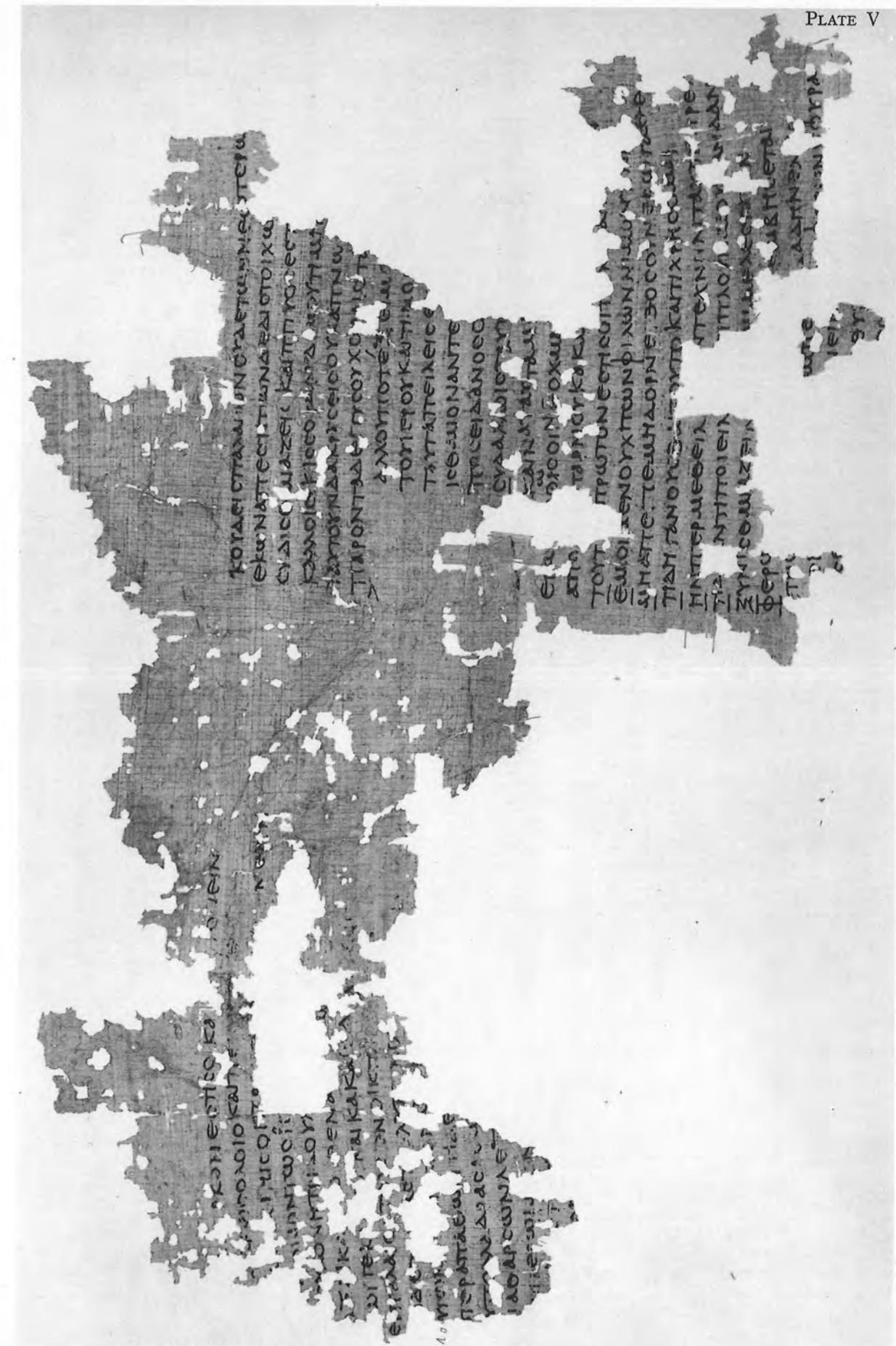




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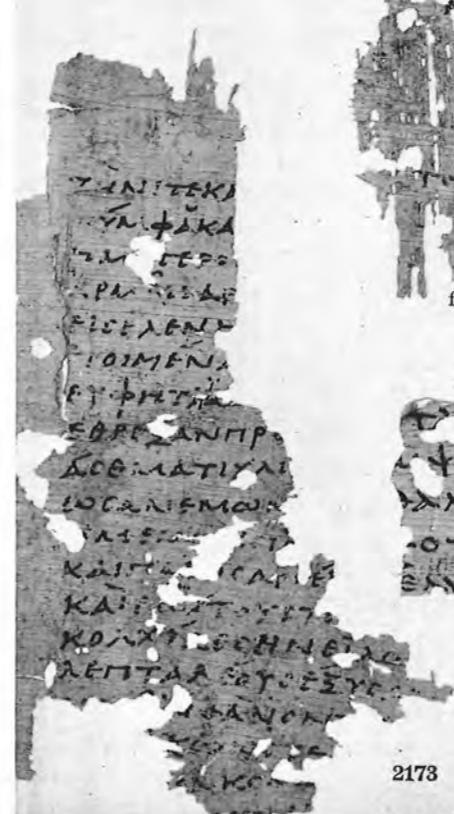
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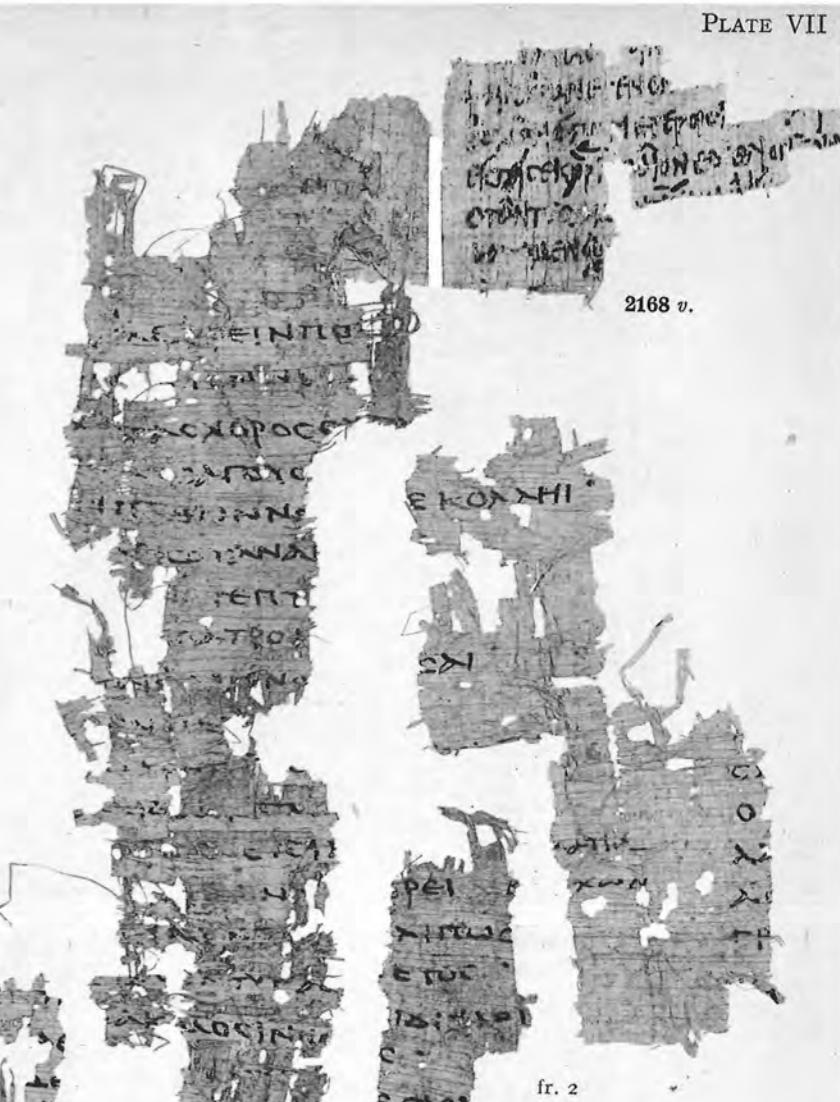
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ГСТЕНОЛОР  
ΙΘУМОНАРЕ  
ИМІМНЕКЛ  
ИИСЛАӨҮПО  
ЧАТІЕНДЕ  
ЮУДАМАЛ  
СЕЛЕЛОГН  
ССХОНДА  
ТНСАНДС  
БАГІКНАД

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ΤΑΝΙΣΕΚΑ  
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ΡΑ ΤΣΕΛΕ  
ΕΙΣΕΛΕΝΗ  
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ  
ΕΥΦΡΑΤΙΑ  
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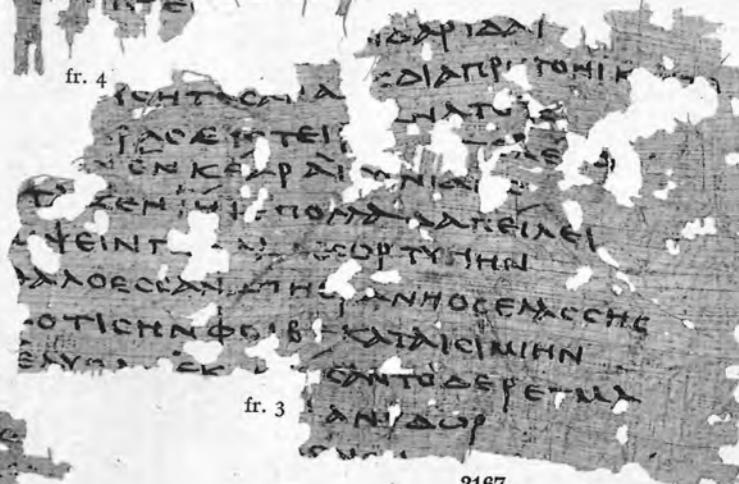
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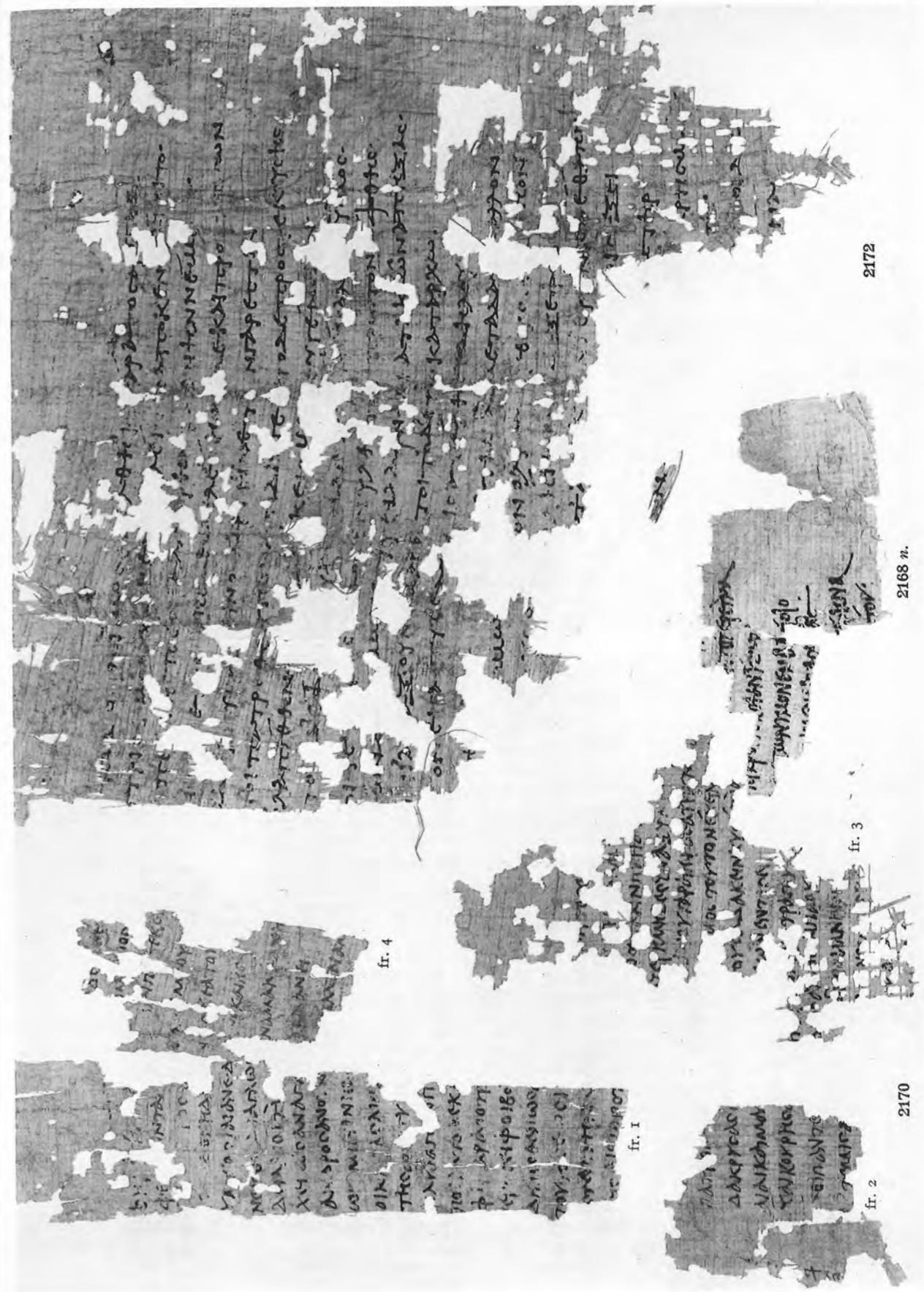


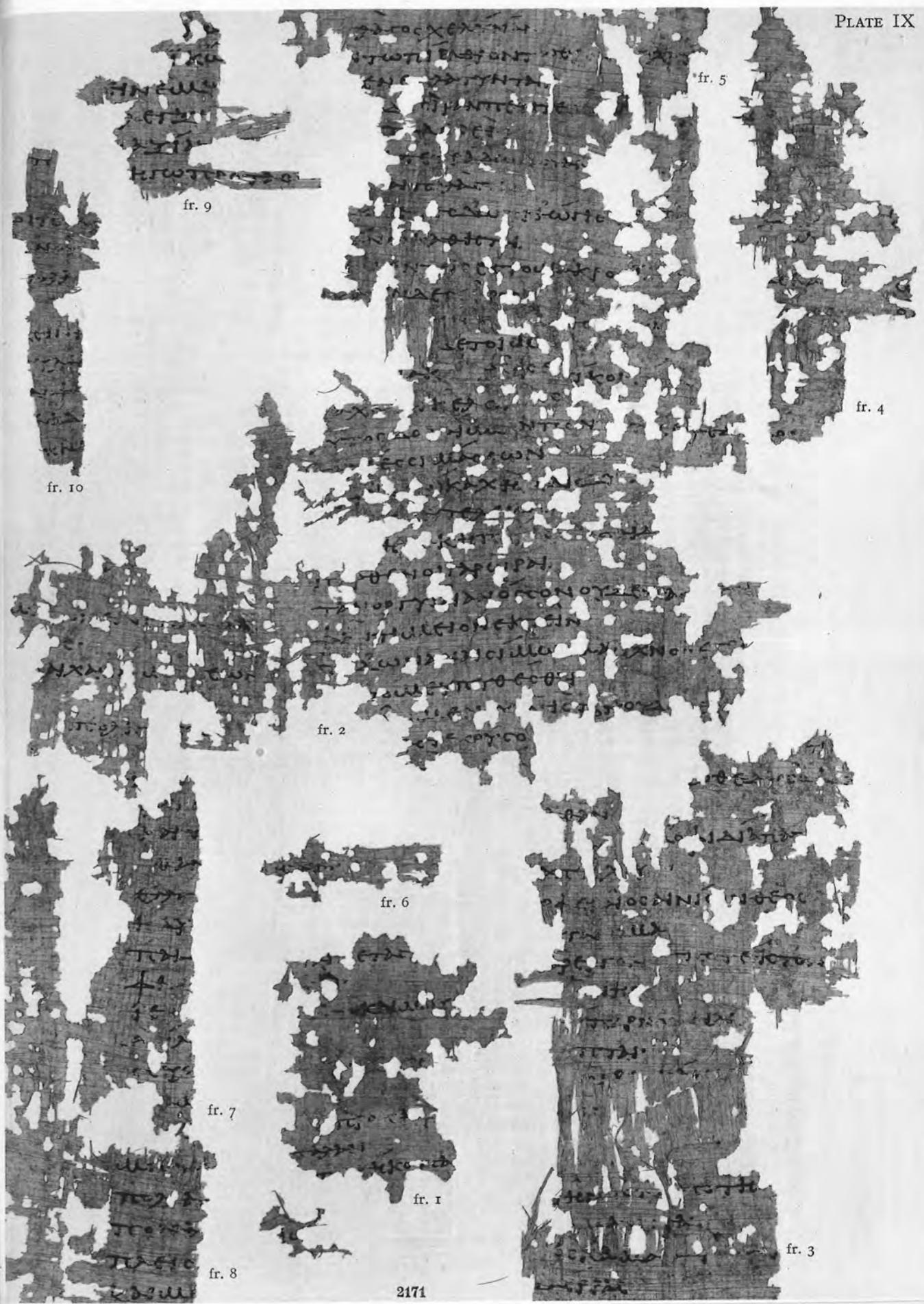
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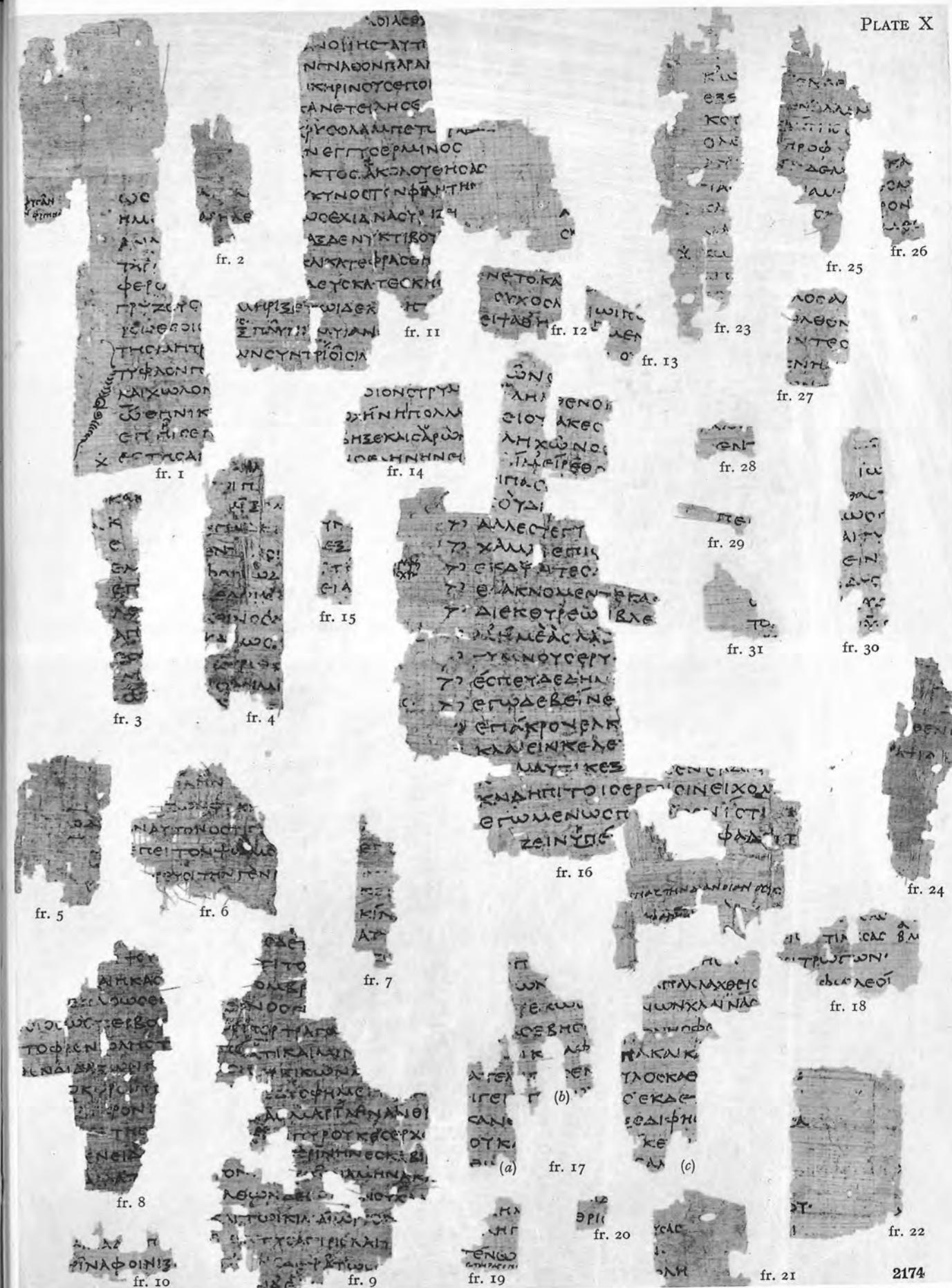


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ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΙ ΚΑΛΑ  
 ΥΠΙΔΑΛΑΣ ΕΙΔΟ  
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